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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1910.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1910.

Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XXXIII.

BRISTOL:

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Spring Meeting, At Toddington and Winchcombe, *Wednesday, May 18th,* 1910.

Of the many spring and summer excursions of the Society few have commenced under less promising auspices or ended more enjoyably. Murky rain and a low barometer were the prevailing conditions of the early morning, and even after the hundred members who made up the "Spring Meeting" had set out from Cheltenham in their brakes rain was still falling, and everything looked thoroughly cheerless and uncomfortable. Toddington Manor was the objective of the excursion, and before the party had reached Bishop's Cleeve a radiant sun was gladdening the blossoming orchards and moist cowslip fields, nor did a threatening cloud cast its shadow over the beauty of the spring landscape during the remainder of the day.

The gathering included the President, Professor C. W. C. Oman, M.A.; the President of Council, Canon Bazeley; the Local Secretary for Bristol, Mr. L. J. U. Way; the Editor, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, and a goodly number of members from all parts of the district of the Society.

The drive to Toddington was commenced about half-past ten, and the route taken was via Cleeve and Gotherington. Unfortunately Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Andrews were absent from Toddington House, and

consequently were not able to welcome the Society to their beautiful home, which, however, by their instructions, was thrown open to the members for full inspection.

In 1086, when Domesday Book was compiled by command of the Conqueror, Toddington was held by Harold, lord of Sudeley and son of Ralph, Earl of Hereford. John de Sudeley, son and heir of Harold, married Grace, daughter of Henry de Traci, lord of the Honour of Barnstaple, in North Devon ; and his younger son, William, taking his mother's surname, and inheriting Toddington, became the founder of a family which held this manor for more than eight centuries, and only lost it a few years ago. The Tracys of Toddington have served their sovereigns as useful country gentlemen rather than as great statesmen or warriors. Their names will be found abundantly amongst the Sheriffs of Gloucestershire, but it does not appear that one of them has paid the penalty of treason or loyalty by laying his head on the block, or has been slain on the field of battle.

The first of them, William de Tracy, conjointly with Sir Richard Brito, Sir Hugh de Morvile, and Sir Reginald fitz Urse, has been credited with the brutal murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Let us hope that the accusation is misplaced. In any case William de Tracy lived for fifty years after the event, and died in peace.

Of the early house of the Tracys little is known. They forsook it early in the reign of Charles I, and took up their residence in the Abbot's House at Hayles. John, third Viscount Tracy, died there in 1686. Then his successor, William, fourth Viscount, began to rebuild the family home at Toddington, and it was finished and occupied when Kip was making his drawings for Atkyns' *History of Gloucestershire.* There may be some still alive who remember this late seventeenth-century house before it became a ruin. A view of it, drawn by Buckler and engraved by S. Williams, is given in Britton's *Toddington* at page 32.

The gateway remains and also a corner of the main buildings, and in front of it a few years ago lay many fragments of carved and moulded stone, weather-worn and hastening to decay—corbels, masks and gargoyles—which once adorned the church or mansion.

In 1712 the earlier churchof Toddington, dedicated to St. Leonard, the patron saint of captives, had been lately torn down, the tower only being spared ; and another, which Sir Stephen Glynn in 1859 described as of "a debased style," had been built on its site by the then Lord Tracy [1] This second church was replaced by the present one not many years ago. Some interesting glass which came from Hayles Abbey, and was inserted in one of the windows of Toddington Church in 1789 by Henry, eighth

[1] See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc* , vol. xxiii, p. 6.

Viscount Tracy, was releaded at the expense of this Society, and may now be seen in the east window of Hayles Church.

The foundation stone of the present Toddington House was laid in 1819, and in 1840 it was ready for occupation. The principal building contains a cloister with large and elegant rooms on its east, south and west sides. On the south side on the ground floor, says Britton, are the dining-room, octagonal morning-room, vestibules, and private library; on the east are the muniment room, the steward's office, and billiard-room; and on the west the library, drawing-room, and music-room. The main entrance is on the north side.

The archæological interest of Toddington House lies in its magnificent collection of stained glass of Swiss, German, and Flemish manufacture, with which a few English pieces from Sudeley and Hayles, of sixteenth-century date, are intermingled. This glass was bought in Switzerland by Charles, Lord Sudeley, and is said to have come from monasteries, private houses, and public buildings in Glarus, Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, and elsewhere. It represents quaint local stories and legends of saints, and also scenes from the Old and New Testament, which are described in Mr. St. Clair Baddeley's paper in our *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., pp. 162–92.

After the members had inspected the grounds, the drive was resumed to Winchcombe, where luncheon was taken in the Town Hall. It is evident that the town occupied an important position in the seventeenth century, for nine traders used farthings and halfpenny tokens of convenience.

After luncheon a general meeting was held, at which the only business was a recommendation from the Council to raise the fee of a life membership from five guineas to seven guineas from January 1st, 1910. This was carried, on the motion of the President, without discussion.

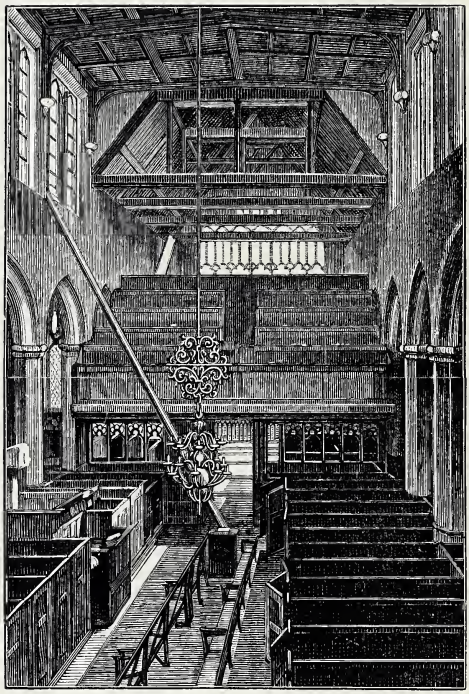
The Rev. Canon BAZELEY (President of the Council) said a very pleasant duty had been entrusted to him. Some of the members of the Society who knew what their Secretary for Bristol, Mr. Pritchard, had done during the last ten years he had held that office had subscribed to give him a little remembrance of them and of his work. He thought he had something to do with Mr. Pritchard's selection, and he was very proud of the part he had taken in it, because he had found him one of the very best men they could have for the work. At Bristol, at the time Mr. Pritchard took over the secretaryship, the Society was not holding its proper place: they were short of members, and there was none of that enthusiasm about their work which he longed for. He found in Mr. Pritchard just the man he wanted, and immediately he took up the position of Secretary for Bristol everything began to change

there, and the result was that their most enthusiastic and able members —if he dared say so—at the present moment resided in that part of the county. The Society held a splendid position in Bristol, and it was owing to a great extent to Mr. Pritchard. They were very grateful to him for what he had done for the Society, and as a proof of their gratitude they were going to ask his acceptance of a little piece of plate as a remembrance of the many pleasant years they had worked together. He was sure Mr. Pritchard would appreciate the piece of plate, which was in the form of a salver, which bore the hall-mark 1729, and was inscribed as follows:

> "Presented (with cheque) by members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society to John E. Pritchard, Esq., F.S.A., on his retirement after ten years' invaluable service as Hon. Secretary for Bristol, 18th May, 1910."

He had also the pleasure of asking Mr. Pritchard's acceptance of a cheque for £66. They wished Mr. Pritchard many happy years, and although he had resigned the secretaryship for Bristol, they hoped he would long continue a member and go on helping them as in the past.

Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD, in acknowledgment, said he was quite unable to realise the significance of that magnificent present, and utterly unable to thank them as he should for their liberality. He ventured to think his work had been over-magnified. What he had done was simply as an enthusiast in archæology. He was proud to feel that they had accepted his work, and that it had met with their appreciation. He remembered that he had had the kind support of all the members of the Society, and particularly of all the Bristol members of the Council, and without that it would have been impossible for him to carry out what he did. On the part of those in Bristol, and he was sure in Gloucester also, an effort had been made to return to the enthusiasm of the early days of the Society, when there were giants among them. From Canon Bazeley he had received nothing but help, and it was due to a charming note of his a quarter of a century ago that he (Mr. Pritchard) had joined that Society when he was half inclined to join the Somerset Society. But from the day he received that note there had been continuous letters from Canon Bazeley to himself, and those letters possessed a distinct charm which few letters possessed. It was impossible for him to thank Canon Bazeley for all he had done for him, and it was a great pleasure to feel that he was President of the Council that day, and that from his hands he had received that delightful gift of theirs. He had also to acknowledge the honour conferred upon him in making him a Vice-President of the Society, an honour which he would endeavour to deserve as the work went on. With regard to the silver



INTERIOR OF WINCHCOMBE CHURCH, BEFORE THE RESTORATION.

salver, it would be handed down in his family with great pride and be highly prized, as their gift would remind those who followed him of their unequalled kindness; and as to the cheque, that would be used as he thought they would wish it to be used.

Mr. F. F. Fox, in a graceful little speech, asked Mrs. Pritchard's acceptance of a gold expanding watch bracelet.

Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD acknowledged the gift on behalf of his wife.

There was time after luncheon for a short visit to Winchcombe Church, where the members were received by the curate-in-charge, as the Vicar, the Rev. J. Taylor, D.Litt., was unwell.

The Church of St. Peter, Winchcombe, consists of chancel, nave with two broad aisles, west tower, and south porch. The church has two arcades of eight bays with octagonal shafts and low-centred arches. The aisles project eastward as far as the arcade. The chancel is the full width of the nave, and was formed by a high rood-screen and loft at the second pier from the east, running the whole width of the church. This screen has been taken down and altered and the loft has been destroyed, but the stairs to the loft still remain on the outer wall of the north aisle. There is no chancel arch to separate it from the nave.

The clerestory has large four-light square-headed windows, with cusped arches in the head of each light. The original roof of the nave remains, though much restored. On the south side of the sanctuary are triple sedilia with elaborate canopies. The niches are empty. Nearer the altar is a projecting piscina, with a semi-octagonal canopy on which are carved the arms of the Abbey of Winchcombe, the Abbey of Gloucester, and Ralph, Lord Boteler, who provided most of the funds for building the church.

In the east wall there is a doorway which once led into a sacristy. Besides the high altar there were altars at the east end of the aisles. On the south side of the church, opposite the third bay from the west, is a large porch with richly-groined vaulting. Over this is a living-room with fireplace, stone mantel, and recessed seat. The stairs lead beyond this room to the roof. It is difficult to understand why a parvise should have been considered necessary with the abbey buildings so near. On the north side there is another doorway, and also one at the west end leading into the tower. The whole church, including the tower, was built at one date, having been commenced in 1480, so it is late Perpendicular. None of the original fittings remain, except the screen. The organ case and font are of seventeenth-century date. The communion plate consists of chalices of 1570 and 1677, paten 1686, and flagon 1709. An interesting parish alms box with three locks—one for the vicar and the others for the churchwardens—is attached to a

pillar. This was provided according to an injunction of Edward VI, 1547.

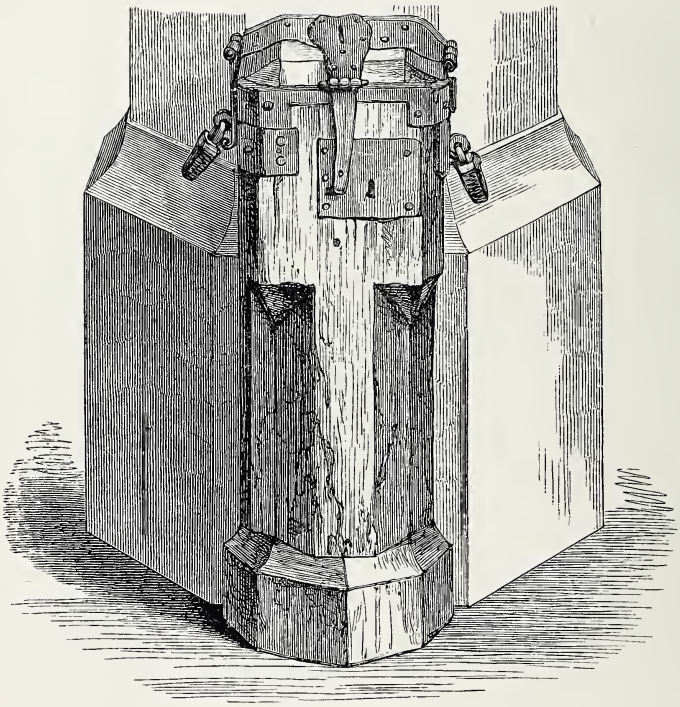
There was an earlier parish church of St. Nicholas which fell into decay, and the parishioners for a time used the conventual church. Late in the fifteenth century a new parish church was built on the site of a chapel of St. Pancras. The church has suffered much from changes and restorations. In 1690 the chancel was partly rebuilt, and a barn-like roof placed over it. This was superseded by the present roof in 1872. About 1750 a "ladies' gallery" was constructed over the chancel arch, extending some four to five feet in front and eastward to the first pier. There is an old altar cloth made from an ancient vestment which tradition says was worked by Queen Katharine of Aragon and her ladies. At the west end of the church are two stone coffins attributed to King Kenulph and King Kenelm. Until 1872 the Elizabethan arrangement of the communion table, with seats for the communicants on all four sides, was allowed to continue, as at Hayles, Deerhurst, Leonard Stanley, etc. The base of a fifteenth-century cross remains in the churchyard.

In the church the Rev. R. Noble Jackson, a former vicar, and now Vicar of Sudeley, gave the members some interesting details of the renovations effected during his ministry, and dissented from the view that the church had been injured by its restoration. He mentioned that the parish registers dated back to 1539, which made them almost as old as any in the kingdom.

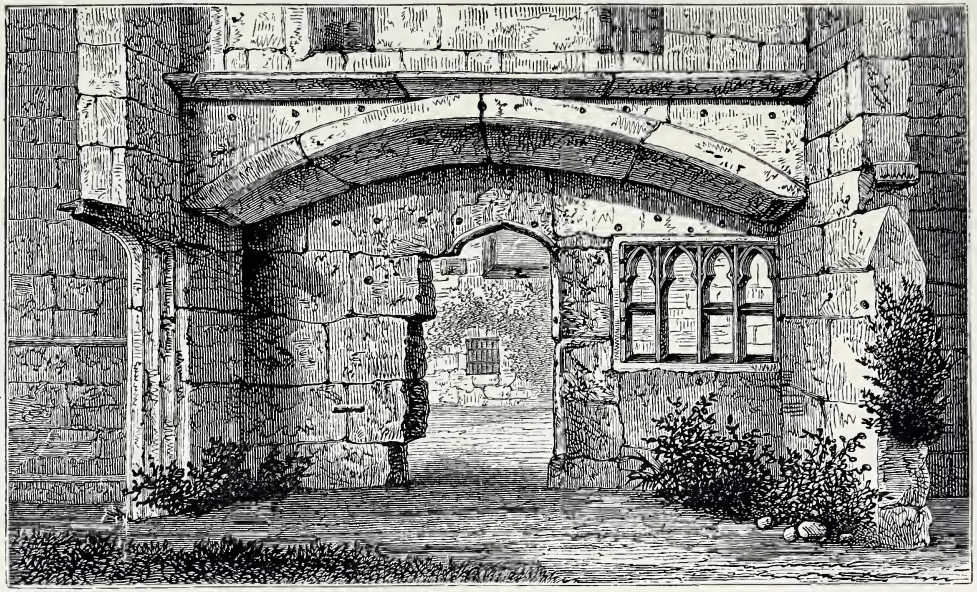
From the church the party walked across the park to Sudeley Castle. A castle was built at Sudeley in the time of King Stephen, and suffered severely in the wars of that reign. Here Mr. Dent Brocklehurst, the present proprietor, gave a hearty welcome to the Society, and remarked, incidentally, that if at such a mournful time the Society felt that it was desirable to carry out their programme, there were few places they could more suitably visit than Sudeley Castle, associated as it was with the kings and queens of our country.

The President of the Council, expressing the gratitude of the Society to Mr. Dent Brocklehurst for his warm welcome, mentioned that at first it was thought that the spring meeting of the Society should be postponed on account of the death of the King, but after careful consideration and some correspondence the difficulty of selecting any other date decided them to carry out their original arrangements. After all, they could but feel that no amount of days or months would take away the sense of the loss they had suffered.

Of Sudeley previous to the Norman Conquest we know but little. In 1086 Domesday Book tells us Harold, son of Earl Ralph, held it of



ALMS BOX, WITH THREE LOCKS, WINCHCOMBE CHURCH.



REMAINS OF BUILDING ON SOUTH SIDE OF ST. MARY'S CHAPEL.

the king, and Ralph, his father, held it before the coming of the Normans. Ralph, Earl of Hereford, was son of Walter, or, as some call him, Drogo of Mantes, and the Countess Goda, daughter of Ethelred II, King of England 979–1016.

In 1055 Ralph was defeated by Alfgar, son of Leofric, allied with Griffith, Prince of South Wales. He died in the following year, and was buried at Peterborough. His son Harold, who succeeded him as lord of Sudeley, and also as Earl of Hereford, retained Sudeley after the Battle of Hastings, but resigned his earldom in favour of William fitz Osborn. He married Mary, daughter of Lupus, Earl of Chester, and he thus became a kinsman of King William, who was her great uncle.

A castle was built at Sudeley in the time of Stephen, and but for the ivy which mantles the walls, the Norman windows and doorway of this date would be visible in the low embattled tower on the west side of Queen Katharine's apartments. Leland tells us that before this the lords of Sudeley dwelt in a manor-house.

Harold was a generous patron of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, for he gave the monks the priory which he had founded and endowed at Ewyas Harold.[1] Harold left two sons—John, who succeeded him as lord of Sudeley, and Robert, who became lord of Ewyas Harold. It is an interesting fact that the family of Brydges, who obtained a grant of Sudeley in Queen Mary's reign, were descended from Robert de Ewyas Harold. John, as we have seen, married Grace de Tracy, a granddaughter of Henry I. During the wars of Stephen and Matilda his manor of Sudeley suffered severely at the hands of Stephen, because of his active sympathy with his kinswoman, Matilda. Ralph de Sudeley died in 1192, and was succeeded in succession by his sons Otwer and Ralph.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century the elder branch of de Sudeley died out in the male line, and the then heiress, Joan de Sudeley, brought the manor in marriage to Thomas Botiler, lord of Henley-in-Arden. In 1368 their son, Thomas Botiler, had Sudeley assigned to him as his share of his mother's estates. He married Alice, daughter of Lord Beauchamp, of Powick, by whom he had issue John and Ralph and two daughters. As John died in his lifetime he was succeeded by Ralph, who took an active part in the French wars of Henry V and Henry VI. In 1441 he was made a peer of the realm with the title of Baron Sudeley. According to Leland, Ralph, who was a famous warrior and "admiral on sea," with the spoils he won from the French, rebuilt a large part of Sudeley Castle, St. Mary's Chapel, Sudeley, and

[1] See *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.* vol. xxvii., p 31.

St. Peter's Church, Winchcombe. Portmare Tower, part of Sudeley Castle, is said to have been paid for by him out of the ransom of a French admiral of that name.

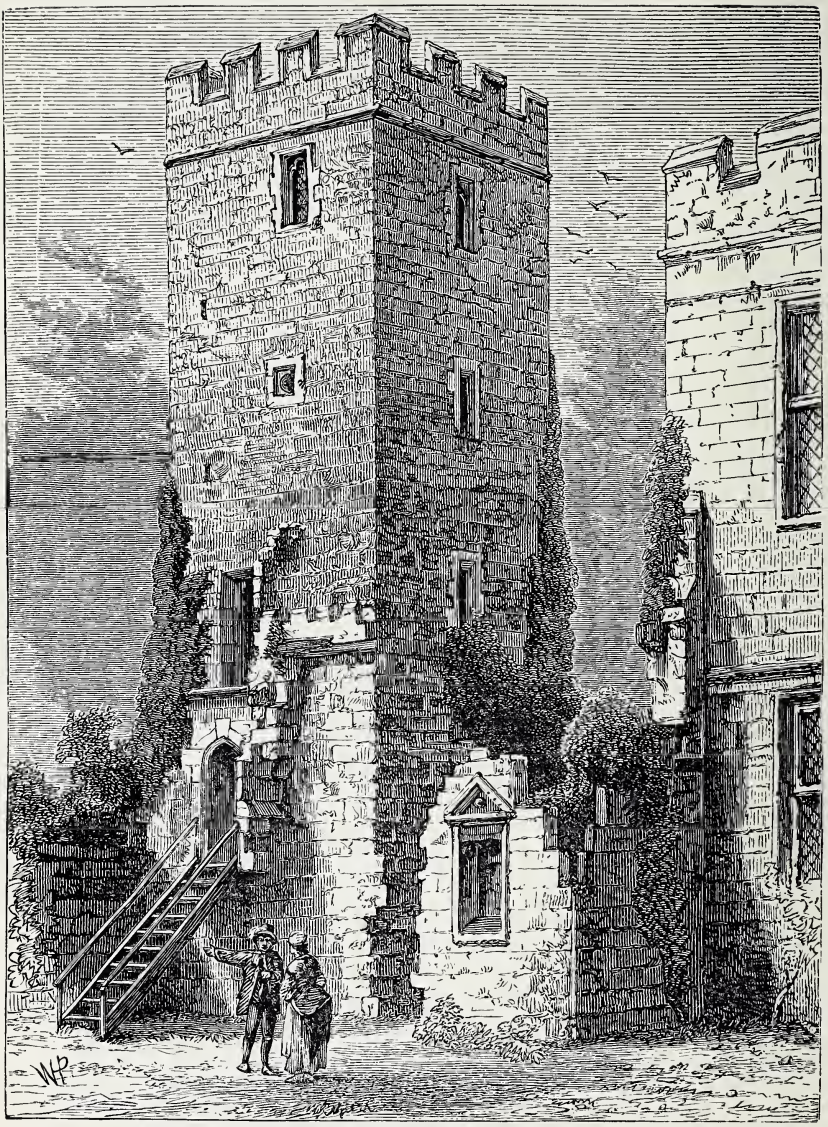
In 1455 Lord Sudeley fought at St. Albans, where Henry VI was taken prisoner by Richard, Duke of York. In 1469 he fell into disgrace with Edward IV, as an adherent of the red rose, and to save his head from the block surrendered Sudeley Castle and his other possessions to Earl Rivers for the king. From this time it was held by constables. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, obtained a grant of it, and in 1478 gave it back to the king in exchange for Richmond Castle in Yorkshire. Again, on the death of Edward IV, Richard became possessed of it as king, and on his death it passed into the hands of Henry VII and then of Henry VIII. In 1486 Henry VII gave Sudeley to his uncle, Jasper Tudor, and created him Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford. As he left no issue it reverted to the Crown on his death. During the reigns of Edward IV and his three successors Sir John Huddlestone, of Millom, Cumberland, held the office of constable. He was a generous patron of Hayles Abbey, and on his death in 1513 he was buried there in a handsome tomb. When we were excavating that abbey we found several bosses carved with the arms of Huddlestone on the site of the Abbot's House, and what we believed to be fragments of his tomb in the church. His son rebuilt Southam House and lived there. Sir John was succeeded as constable by Sir William Compton, of Compton Winyatt, ancestor of the Marquess of Northampton.

In 1532 Henry VIII and Queen Anne Boleyn paid a visit to Sudeley Castle, and a sketch by Cattermole represents them arriving at the castle. Leland, who visited Sudeley Castle late in Henry VIII's reign, describes it as going to ruin, "more the pitye."

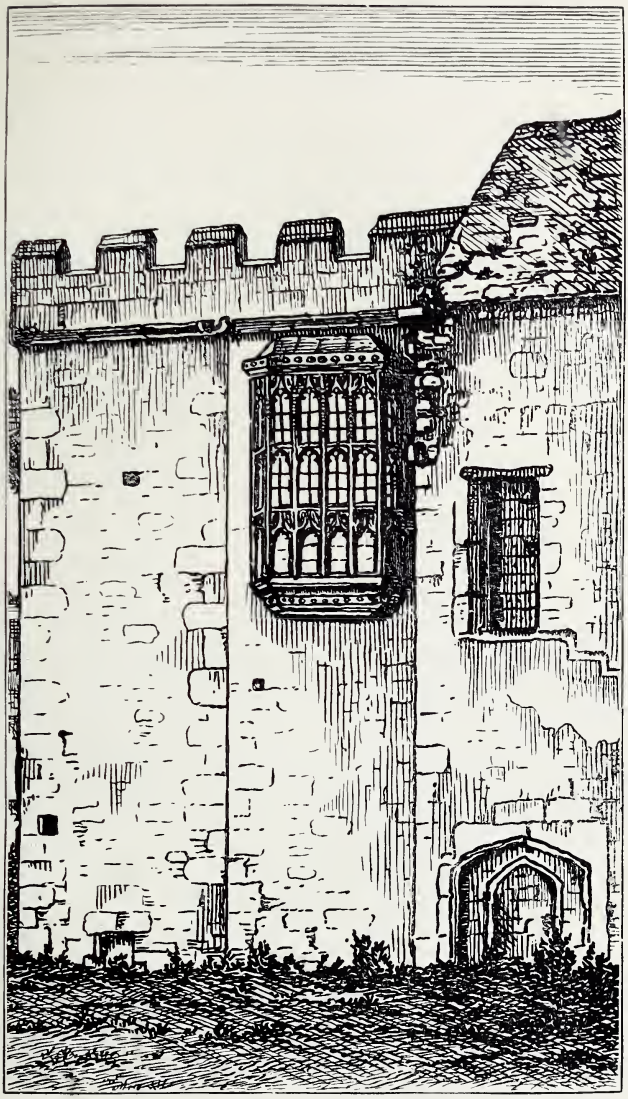
Henry VIII died on January 28th, 1547, and before the close of the year his widow, Katherine Parr, married Sir Thomas Seymour, who obtained from Edward VI a grant of Sudeley and nineteen other manors in Gloucestershire, including the site of Hayles Abbey.

The young king also created his uncle Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and made him Lord High Admiral. Seymour at once began to restore Sudeley with a view to making it a fitting residence for the queen, and rooms were built for her personal use on the south-east corner of the inner quadrangle.

When all was ready Katherine took up her quarters in the castle, and there she gathered around her as her chaplains some of the most notable divines of the new school of learning, amongst them Miles Coverdale, the translator of the Bible. Lady Jane Grey, whom she hoped to see married to her nephew, the young King Edward, came to reside



PORTMARE TOWER, SUDELEY CASTLE.



EAST VIEW OF QUEEN KATHERINE'S APARTMENTS, SUDELEY CASTLE.

with her. On August 30th, 1548, Katherine gave birth at Sudeley to a daughter, and a few days later she died. She was buried in St. Mary's Chapel, and a monument, on which was an effigy of the queen, as though asleep, with hands clasped in prayer, was erected to her memory. Mrs. Dent in her *Annals* gives a full account of her funeral service, extracted from *A boke of Buryalls of truly noble persons*, a MS. in the Heralds' College.

This fascinating queen, for including Henry VIII she had four husbands, was not destined to rest in her grave in peace. The Puritan soldiers broke up her monument in the Civil War, and the chapel in which she lay quickly fell into ruin.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the site of the queen's tomb appears to have been forgotten. Would that it had remained so until a hundred years later. In *Archælogia* we read how in 1782 Mr. John Lucas had the curiosity to rip open the lead coffin in which she lay, and to his surpirse found her body uncorrupted after 234 years' burial.

Again and again the coffin was opened by inquisitive antiquaries, and in 1792 the tenant of the castle allowed a number of drunken guests to ill-treat the queen's remains. In 1817 the rector removed the coffin into the Chandos tomb, and within living memory Mr. and Mrs. Dent replaced it on the north side of the altar and dedicated a beautiful monument, carved by J. B. Philip, to the good queen's memory.

In 1549 Seymour was arrested on a charge of treason, tried, and condemned. On March 20th he was beheaded on Tower Hill, and his manors reverted to the king.

One of the most interesting questions connected with Sudeley is what became of Katherine Parr's daughter. Strype, the historian, says that she died young, but Miss Strickland, in her *Queens of England*, declares that she married Sir Edward Bushel. On the attainder of Seymour the Marquess of Northampton obtained a grant of Sudeley, but on the accession of Mary he was disgraced and deprived of his estates. In 1554 the Castle and Manor of Sudeley were conferred by the queen on Sir John Bridges, whom she created a peer with the title of Baron Chandos. He died in 1557, was buried in St. Mary's Chapel, and was succeeded by his son Edmund, who died in 1572. In this lord's time the castle was restored. Giles, the third lord, had the honour of receiving Queen Elizabeth three times at Sudeley—in 1575, 1589, and 1592. Two years later he died.

The next lord of Sudeley was Grey Bridges, who was of a literary turn of mind, and although he was very hospitable to his neighbours, he took no part in public affairs. He died in 1621, when his son and heir was yet in his infancy. In 1642, when the Civil War broke out,

Lord Chandos had just come of age, but he lost no time in proving his loyalty to Charles I. In August of that year he came to Cirencester to execute a commission of array, and the inhabitants rose against him and threatened to kill him. In 1643 Sudeley fell into the hands of Massey, Governor of Gloucester, and the Roundheads plundered the castle, profaned the chapel, and destroyed the tombs. In the same year the Castle was re-occupied by the Royalists. Then came the siege of Gloucester and the march of the London trained bands across the Cotteswolds to its relief. Charles I broke up his camp, left Matson, and marched by Painswick to Sudeley, where he stayed for awhile. In 1644 the castle was again surrendered to the Parliament, and once more occupied by the king, until in 1646 the last battle of the Civil War was fought at Stow-on-the-Wold.

Lord Chandos was well-nigh ruined by the price he had to pay for pardon, and Sudeley was rendered untenable as a military post. Lord Chandos died in 1655, leaving daughters only, and his title passed to his brother William, who was succeeded twenty years later by a distant cousin, James. On the death of this lord the title became extinct. The castle belonged for many years to the Pitts of Strathfieldsaye, ancestors of Lord Rivers, and in 1810 it was sold to the Duke of Buckingham. These proprietors took little interest in it; it was used as a quarry by the tenants, and became more and more ruinous. But its halcyon days were renewed in 1837, when it was purchased by the late Messrs. J. and W. Dent, who together with their brother, the Rev. B. Dent, took up their residence there and spent many peaceful years together, all passing away in 1854–5 within a few months of one another, and leaving the manor and castle to their nephew, Mr. John Coucher Dent. This gentleman died in 1885 and his widow in 1900. Mrs. Dent, the talented authoress of the *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, was a generous donor to the church and town of Winchcombe, a keen archæologist, an ideal hostess, and a true friend.

During the forty-five years that she lived at Sudeley the restoration of the castle and the church went on almost incessantly, and what was a ruin in 1837 became one of the most beautiful of English homes.

This Society visited Sudeley in 1879, and were most hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Dent. An account of the visit will be found in our *Transactions*, vol. xxii., pp. 300–1, together with Professor Middleton's notes on Winchcombe Church.

Sudeley Castle consists of two quadrangles, north and south, St. Mary's Chapel, and the Grange. On the north side of the north quadrangle is the ancient doorway, with a buttery hatch on the right as you enter and the armoury on the left. These formed originally part of a

SUDELEY CASTLE, IN RUINS.

ST. MARY'S CHAPEL, IN RUINS.

detached gateway. The buildings which now connect them with the rest of the quadrangle were probably built by Edmund Bridges in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The new buildings at the north-east and south-west corners of this quadrangle were erected by the late Mrs. Dent. The west side of the south quadrangle contains the Portmare Tower on the north, built by Ralph, Lord Chandos, about 1550, a range of domestic buildings and the keep or dungeon tower to the south, with a smaller tower crowning its north-west angle, on which was a beacon fire-pan. The keep, which must have been of considerable strength, had three stories. In the north angle are three arched cells rising one above another, a trap-hatch at the top of each being the only means of access. Here were immured the hapless prisoners of olden times. To show that all this was very real, we are told by Mrs. Dent that the skeleton of the last inhabitant of this terrible abode was found some years ago in the lowest cell. On the east side of this quadrangle in the north-east corner is the twelfth-century embattled tower containing Queen Katharine's rooms. To the south of this tower are the ruins of the magnificent banqueting-hall, built by Ralph Botiler, Lord Chandos, about 1550, and restored in the following century. A cloister ran along the north and part of the west side of this quadrangle.

St. Mary's Chapel consists of a nave and chancel with an aisle or chapel on the north side, now containing the organ. There is a priest's door on the south side of the chancel which opened into an outer chamber. A hagioscope or squint enabled the occupant to see the elevation of the Host at the high altar.

It has been thought that this might be possibly an anchorite's cell, but its position makes it more probable that it was a priest's room or a sacristy. The foundations of a building, perhaps a Lady Chapel, are visible at the east end of the chancel.

The so-called Grange is a large barn, which was built in the fifteenth century and lengthened westward in the sixteenth.

To the east of the banqueting-hall is a Dutch garden. To the north is a moat, thought to belong to the Saxon manor house, the foundations of which were found by Canon Lysons eastward of it.

The visitors were conducted over the mansion in three parties by the host and hostess and their daughter (the bride of the Hon. Michael Hugh Hicks Beach, M.P. for the Tewkesbury Division). Its magnificent suites of rooms shelter a collection of art in its many branches and objects of virtu which can be equalled in few of "the stately homes of England." There are to be seen notable paintings by such artists as Holbein and Cornelius Jansen, priceless tapestries, a perfect gallery

of historic miniatures, glorious specimens of antique woodwork in a thousand developments, and antiquities of all times and places from the Flint Age onwards.

While one party were visiting the interior of the house Canon Bazeley conducted aonother party round the remains of the old castle and the grounds, the latter notable for their extensive and dignified topiary, that "sculpture in green" which is seldom seen carried out with better effect and feeling of fitness than here under the shadow of the ruins of this once mighty castle and the present dignified mansion.

In the course of the peregrination Canon Bazeley recalled the fact that there was a beautiful Roman villa only one and a half miles from the castle, at Spoonley. It was just twenty-five years ago that Mrs. Dent asked him if he would come and excavate it, and he was delighted to do so. She gave him a room at the castle—Prince Rupert's room—and he spent the greater part of a most happy summer on the work. Mrs. Dent gave him the services of twenty men to use as he desired, so need he say no antiquary was over happier. They excavated the whole of the villa, built up the walls that had fallen down, and covered the buildings with the tiles which had formed the roof of the original building. Probably there was not another place in England where the original lozenge-shaped Roman tiles were still used for their original purpose. By the way, they were lozenge shape to prevent unnecessary strain on the timbers, and he could not think why the same plan was not still adopted.

After the sights had been seen so far as time would permit, the visitors were entertained at tea on the lawn with the utmost hospitality, and later

Professor C. W. OMAN, M.A., President of the Society, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Dent Brocklehurst for their great kindness in allowing the Society to go over even the most inner sanctum and to see the wonderful collection of things the castle contained. The place was an extraordinary picture of what the loving care of two generations could do for an old house. The Society were last there in 1879, and the joy the visit of this year had been to them, and the hospitality shown them, would be a fresh memory to them for many a year in the future.

Mr. DENT BROCKLEHURST, responding, expressed the greatest pleasure in receiving a visit from the Society. They valued their treasures at home, but their greatest pleasure was to welcome their friends to enjoy them with them. Although they might not be worthy to succeed to such treasures, still they did their very best to preserve them. They would be most delighted to welcome the Society again should they extend their excursion in that direction.

QUEEN KATHERINE IN HER COFFIN, 1872.

A glorious drive over Cleeve Hill, a wonderful prospect of the Severn Valley and distant hills under a rich and brilliant sunset, and the party were back in Cheltenham by seven o'clock.

The best thanks of the Society are due to Colonel Duke for the excellent arrangements which contributed so much to the success of the meeting, and to Canon Bazeley for his care in drawing up the programme, but especially to Mr. and Mrs. Dent Brocklehurst for their most kindly and hospitable welcome to Sudeley Castle, and for permission to use the blocks of the pictures which illustrate the account of the meeting.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Summer Meeting, At Oxford,

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, August 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, 1910.

The gathering proved to be a record one in point of members attending a Summer Meeting, for no fewer than one hundred and thirty-one members were present at one time or another during the four days of the meeting. Several of the members were present at a congregation held in the Sheldonian Theatre in the morning for the purpose of conferring degrees, where, among more than one hundred graduates, the Rev. J. S. Bazeley, of Pembroke College, a son of the President of Council, was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. The business of the meeting, however, commenced at two o'clock, when the Vice-Chancellor received the members of the Society in the Divinity School. It had been intended that the inaugural meeting should take place in the New Examination Schools, but happily it was found that the schools were otherwise occupied, for it was felt that one of the ancient buildings of the University was in every way a more suitable place of meeting, and particularly one to which Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was so great a benefactor; furthermore, some of us have reached an age at which we shrink from examinations. There were present the President

of the Society (Professor C. W. C. Oman, M.B.A.), the President of Council, the General Secretary, the Secretary for Bristol, the Editor, and a very large number of members of the Society.

Dr. T. H. WARREN, Vice-Chancellor of the University, President of Magdalen College, and President-Elect of the Society, welcomed the members on behalf of the University and the city.

Professor OMAN (the retiring President) thanked the Vice-Chancellor for welcoming them, and said he thought it was appropriate that their gathering should take place in that beautiful hall.

The General Secretary (Mr. M. G. LLOYD-BAKER) read the annual report as follows :—

The number of members of the Society is 517, as against 506 at the time of the last report. The accounts have been audited up to December 31st, 1909, and will be printed in the *Transactions*. The Finance Committee have made a recommendation with regard to life members' fees which was approved at the Spring Meeting, and which is presented for confirmation to-day. Since the last report, the Honorary Secretary for Bristol, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, has been compelled by pressure of work to resign that post, which he has held for ten years, during which time he has by his indefatigable energy and activity done much to raise the Society to the position it now holds in Bristol. At the Spring Meeting at Winchcombe the President of Council, on behalf of the members of the Society, presented to Mr. Pritchard a piece of plate, etc., as a mark of their appreciation of his services, and the Council further desires to nominate him as a Vice-President of the Society. Mr. Pritchard's place has been taken by Mr. Lewis Way, to whom the Council offers a most hearty welcome. The Council has to regret the loss of the services of one of their number, Mr. A. T. Martin, who has been compelled, in consequence of leaving England, to resign his membership of the Society. It will be remembered that in the last report of Council it was mentioned that the districts of local secretaries had been somewhat rearranged. In addition to this a new district has been formed, called the Northern District, consisting of the almost isolated portion of the county extending to Stratford-on-Avon. The Council are glad to be able to nominate Mr. A. E. B. Barnard, who worked so hard to secure the success of the Evesham Meeting, as the

Local Secretary of the newly-formed district. They are also pleased to say that Mr. J. A. Smithin has consented to undertake the work of Treasurer in succession to Mr. Currie. Since the last report the Society has held two meetings—the Summer Meeting at Evesham, and the Spring Meeting at Toddington and Winchcombe. Both were well attended, and the success of both was ensured by the kindness with which the Society was received on all sides. For some time past it has been felt by the Council that the room at Eastgate, Gloucester, containing the books of this Society and the Cotteswold Field Club, does not provide the accommodation required, and is inconvenient in many ways both to those members who wish to consult the books and also to the Librarians; accordingly a joint committee of the two Societies has been appointed to consider what change can be effected. It was at one time hoped that an arrangement might be come to with the Corporation of Gloucester whereby the two Societies might have convenient quarters found for their books at the Gloucester Public Library, with the privilege of free access to them by the members. The Council wishes to express its obligations to the Town Clerk of Gloucester and to another of its members, Mr. F. A. Hyett, for their valuable services in this matter. The Committee will continue its labours, and the Council is not without hope that some satisfactory plan may be recommended for adoption. Mr. H. Medland reported to the Council the dangerous condition of the walls of St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucester, and a small committee was formed to consider what steps should be taken to preserve this interesting building, founded or refounded early in the tenth century by Æthelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians, and by her husband Æthelred, the Viceroy. Under the directions of this committee some excavations have been made which have shown the correctness of a plan of the conventual church previously drawn by Mr. Medland. It has also been clearly ascertained that some careful repairs should be carried out at once to counteract the mischief being done to the walls by the wear and tear of time and weather. A new catalogue of the Society's books and papers is now being prepared by the Librarian, and will shortly be issued to the members. During the year the Council have held five meetings—three at Bristol and two at Gloucester, in addition to a special meeting at Evesham. They desire to express their obligation to the Lord Mayor of Bristol, and to the Mayor of Gloucester for the use of the Old Council Chamber at Bristol and the Guildhall at Gloucester respectively.

The Honorary Secretary for Bristol reports: Archæology in Bristol continues in a healthy state, as evidenced by the good attendances at the winter meetings, and from the number of the new members joining

the Society from this district. The thanks of the Society are due to the Bristol and West of England Amateur Photographic Society for the use of their room in Berkeley Square for the evening meetings. Additions have been made to the library by the following members: Dr. Harvey, Messrs. J. J. Simpson and F. F. Tuckett, and by the late Miss Woodward, of Clevedon, a non-member. (Presentation made through Mr. J. W. Arrowsmith.)

The Council desire to nominate for election or re-election the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents with the addition of Mr. J. E. Pritchard, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Editor, the Honorary Secretary for Bristol, the Honorary General Secretary, and the Local Secretaries with the addition of Mr. A. E. B. Barnard.

The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are all eligible for re-election: Rev. Canon Ellacombe, Mr. G. S. Blakeway, Mr. H. Medland, Mr. C. H. Dancey, Dr. A. Harvey, Mr. C. E. Boucher, Mr. O. H. Fowler.

The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, in moving the adoption of the report and the raising of the life membership subscription from five guineas to seven guineas, said there was not much to be said with regard to the report, except to note that they had changed two of their most important officers—the Treasurer and the Hon. Secretary for Bristol; but those who had entered upon those offices had a good example set them, and the Council did not doubt that the work would be as efficiently carried out as it had been in the past. With regard to the proposal to increase the life membership fee, he commended it to the meeting.

Mr. O. H. FOWLER seconded the resolution.

Mr. CARDEW suggested that it would be better to have a sliding scale.

The retiring President said no doubt the Council would consider the valuable suggestion which Mr. Cardew had made.

The resolution was then passed.

Mr. JOHN PRITCHARD, in moving a vote of thanks to Professor Oman, the retiring President, said all who were present at Evesham remembered his brilliant description of

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for the Twelve Months ended December 31st, 1909.

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To SUBSCRIPTIONS				208	8	6
,, ENTRANCE FEES				12	12	0
,, LIFE SUBSCRIPTIONS				10	10	0
,, DONATION—						
Merchant Venturers ..				2	2	0
,, INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS—						
Dividend on Consols ..	19	13	8			
Interest on Deposit Account	0	4	0			
				19	17	8
,, SALE OF PUBLICATIONS—						
Transactions				7	12	0
,, HAILES ABBEY EXPLORATION FUND—						
Surplus (1906)				14	15	6
,, DEFICIT—						
Carried to Balance Sheet ..				2	14	5
				£278	12	1

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By EXPENSES OF PUBLICATIONS—						
Transactions, Printing and Illustrating	161	10	6			
Record Society's Publications	12	0	0			
Circulating	24	10	5			
				198	0	11
,, LIBRARY EXPENSES—						
Rent	25	0	0			
Assistant Librarian ..	5	10	3			
Sundries	5	6	11			
				35	17	2
,, SUBSCRIPTIONS TO VARIOUS SOCIETIES				1	0	0
,, MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES—						
Printing	9	16	6			
Assistant Secretary ..	6	5	0			
Postages and Stationery ..	9	6	4			
Sundries	6	6	0			
Deficit on Meetings ..	12	0	2			
				43	14	0
				£278	12	1

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Balance Sheet to December 31st, 1909.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID BY MEMBERS IN ADVANCE—		
For 1910	8 18 6	
,, 1911	0 10 6	
		9 9 0
SUNDRY CREDITORS		35 10 10
AMOUNT DUE TO BANKERS. ..		1 9 10
SURPLUS AT DATE—		
As last Account	688 14 3	
Less Deficit for the year as per Income and Expenditure Account ..	2 14 5	
		685 19 10
		£732 9 6

ASSETS.		£ s. d.
INVESTMENTS—		
Consols at 86		715 13 6
SUBSCRIPTIONS UNPAID—		
For 1908	3 3 0	
,, 1909	13 13 0	
		16 16 0
		£732 9 6

I certify that I have examined the foregoing Accounts with the Books and Vouchers, and have found the same to be correct.

(*Signed*) F. W. SMITH, *Auditor*,
Incorporated Accountant.

NEW INN CHAMBERS,
GLOUCESTER,
19th April, 1910.

the Battle of Evesham. They also appreciated his genial presidency at the Winchcombe meeting.

Mr. J. McMURTRIE seconded the resolution, and said he desired to associate himself with all Mr. Pritchard had said, and they could not forget that it was to Professor Oman that they owed their visit to Oxford. He thought their meeting could not fail to be a successful one As they went round and saw the various colleges they could not help remembering how in those buildings the lamp of learning was kept alive when that lamp was burning nowhere else.

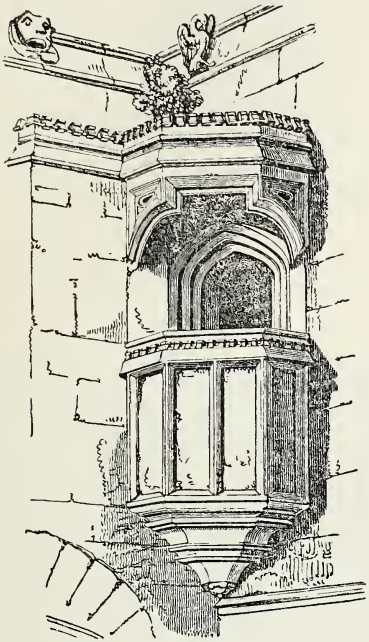
The resolution was carried.

Professor OMAN, in reply, thanked the members for the vote. He said he had a great love for the Society, which for twenty years had taught him so much, and with what joy he had rambled with the members around so many happy corners of Gloucestershire and the neighbouring counties. He was glad that his year of office showed a small increase in membership. He congratulated the Society upon having so distinguished a President to succeed him as Vice-Chancellor Warren, who they knew was a Bristolian by birth. He then decorated the new President with the badge of office, and Dr. Warren read his Presidential Address, which is printed in the present volume.

On the motion of Canon BAZELEY, seconded by Mr. F. F. TUCKETT, the President was thanked for his address.

Leaving the Divinity School, the party, under the guidance of the President, visited Magdalen College. On passing through the gateway the visitor sees on the right near the chapel the stone pulpit from which formerly the University sermon was preached on St. John Baptist's day. The chapel, whether by accident or design, is a perfect place for sound. The organ is on a screen which divides the ante-chapel from the chapel proper. Most visitors to Oxford have heard the service, at least from the ante-chapel, and have experienced the delight of noble music worthily sung. After the lapse of forty years the present writer well remembers the memorial service for the fourteenth Earl of Derby, Chancellor of the University, in October, 1869. The only choirs that have daily choral service are Christ Church, St. John's, New College,

and Magdalen. The service at the last named is specially endowed, and costs £3,000 a year. Some quaint customs are preserved in connection with the choir at Magdalen. On the first Monday in Lent the Benedictus at Matins is sung to a singular setting from mediæval days, after which



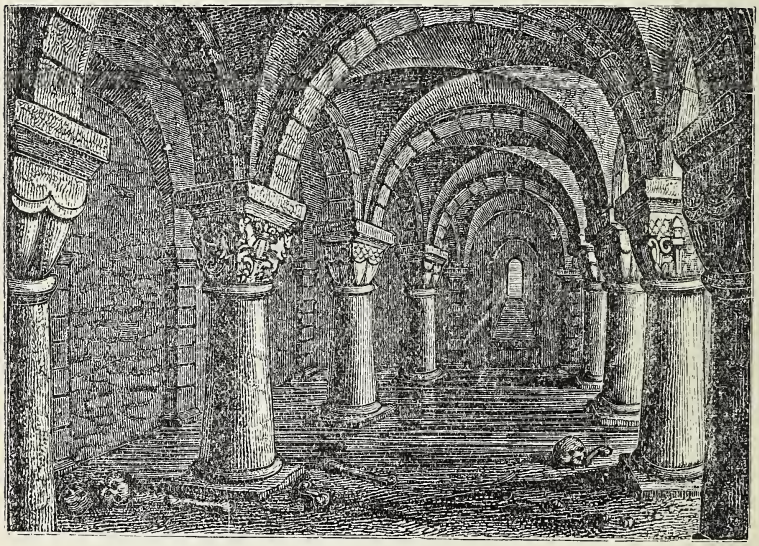
PULPIT, MAGDALEN COLLEGE.

members of the foundation receive a groat. The chorister boys, however, only get half a groat, which in these degenerate days is paid by two common pennies. When the modest fourpenny-piece was "called in," the college authorities collected all the groats they could find, and they secured a large supply. The custom which strikes the imagination most vividly at Magdalen is that of greeting the rising sun on May Day morning from the top of the tower with a hymn. A large crowd assembles in the vicinity, and at five o'clock the old Latin hymn, "Te Deum Patrem Colimus," is sung by the college choir. This is paid for by a charge on the living of Slimbridge, in Gloucestershire. The singing over, the bells strike up a merry peal until the tower rocks violently; then home, something hot, and to bed again as quickly as possible (*experto crede*). The hymn forms part of the college grace, and is probably a composition of the seventeenth century. The details of the

ceremony as now performed were arranged about sixty years from the present time. The tower of Magdalen, which was built at the commencement of the sixteenth century, is one of the most striking structures in Oxford. The chapel contains eight grisaille windows. Over the entrance to the cloisters are the founder's chambers, consisting of reception-room, drawing-room, and bedchamber. On the right of the Founder's Tower is the muniment room, and on the left the library. In the hall are portraits of William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester (the founder), and of many distinguished benefactors and members of the college. Among them are Cardinal Pole, Cardinal Wolsey, Prince Rupert, and Joseph Willcocks (Bishop of Gloucester).

In two parties the members were enabled to visit either the Bodleian Library, under the guidance of Mr. F. Madan, or St. Peter's in the East and New College, where Mr. James Parker most kindly acted as guide.

St. Peter's is interesting in that the chancel of the church has a Norman crypt, built probably late in the eleventh century. The nave



CRYPT, ST. PETER'S IN THE EAST, OXFORD.

has a thirteenth-century north aisle and Lady Chapel. The south door is a fine example of Norman moulding, but it is somewhat hidden by a fifteenth-century porch, with a priest's chamber on the upper floor. There is a fourteenth-century tower, the walls of which slope gradually inwards as they rise.

New College dates from 1380, and a great portion remains as it was completed at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the chapel is preserved the pastoral staff of William of Wykeham, the founder, the

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM'S PASTORAL STAFF.

lines of which we learn have been followed in the design for the new pastoral staff for the See of Gloucester. To the west of the chapel are the cloisters, which stand on the sites of three ancient walls, and to the east are the hall, kitchen, and other offices.

The Bodleian Library, named after its founder, Sir Thomas Bodley, is rich in literary treasures. Besides the enormous number of printed volumes, there are 35,000 manuscripts and other literary and artistic

productions. As illustrating the increase of the contents, it may be stated that on November 8th, 1602, when the library was opened, its wealth consisted only of 2,000 volumes.

At St. John's College the members were received by the Rev. W. H. Hutton, who most kindly welcomed them to tea, and they inspected the structure which was founded by Sir Thomas White in 1555 on the site of St. Bernard's College. The eastern wing of the library was built by Archbishop Laud in 1631. He and Archbishop Juxon were members of this college, as was also Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester from 1758 to 1799. The garden claims special mention on account of its great beauty.

In the evening Mr. F. Madan gave an address in the hall of Brasenose College on the "Growth of the City and University." The members were much interested in seeing the ancient Brasen-nose, the mark of the old hall, which after a sojourn of five centuries at Stamford has recently come back to Oxford.

On Wednesday morning an early start was made for Abingdon, the name of which town in early Saxon times was Sevekesham; but it is said that remains of Romano-British Christianity have been found here, showing its still greater antiquity. About 676 two converts of St. Birinus, the nephew and niece of a sub-king of Wessex, obtained a grant of land from Centwine to found monasteries here. Cilla, the niece, built a convent in honour of St. Helen on the site of the present church of that name, but it was subsequently removed to Wytham. The monastery was enriched by King Ini (688–728), when St. Aldhelm was Bishop of Sherborne. It increased rapidly in wealth and importance until the time of the wars with the Danes. It was rebuilt by King Eadred, and placed under Benedictine rule. In 1291 a chapter of the order was held at Abingdon to levy a contribution from the greater Benedictine houses for building lodgings for the younger monks who wished to become students at Gloucester Hall, founded at Oxford by Sir John Giffard, of Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire.

The Abbot of Abingdon sat in Parliament as a mitred abbot. The monastery was surrendered to the commissioners of Henry VIII on February 23rd, 1538, and the conventual church was destroyed.

The only remains of this important house are a fine gateway with groined roof, a thirteenth-century guest house with a vaulted undercroft, and a two-storied dormitory with an open-work gallery.

St. Helen's Church, near the river, with its lofty hexagonal spire, is a conspicuous feature in all views of Abingdon. Here the party were met by the Vicar, the Rev. H. T. Maitland, who after prayers explained to them the leading features of the church. It is remarkable for its

F. Mackenzie. J. Le Keux.

SAINT JOHN'S COLLEGE, FROM THE GARDEN.

width, which indeed exceeds its length. The nave and chancel have two aisles on either side—on the north side the Jesus and Lady Chapels, and on the south St. Katherine's Chapel and the Chapel of the Holy Rood. The Chapel of St. Helen, which serves as chancel and nave, was heightened in 1873, and clerestory windows were inserted. The tower and spire are Early English, the rest of the church is Perpendicular.

There are four porches, including the tower entrance. Over the north porch is a chamber called the Exchequer, where the registers, etc., are kept. The roof of Our Lady's aisle is enriched with figures of patriarchs, saints, etc., painted at the cost of the St. Nicholas Guild. The aisle of the Holy Cross was built in 1539 for the use of the guild of that name. This guild was suppressed soon afterwards, but revived under the name of Christ's Hospital, and endowed with part of its old possessions. The charter bade the governors provide food and lodgings for fourteen poor people and keep in repair the bridges over the Thames and Ock. The picturesque buildings, near St. Helen's, represent their work, many generous bequests having been added to the endowment of Edward VI. Out of the surplus funds many excellent improvements have been carried out for the benefit of Abingdon.

St. Nicholas is a Transitional Norman church with fifteenth-century additions and alterations. The tower standing on piers inserted in the nave has a square stair-turret. The Blackhall Chapel was built in the seventeenth century. The original Market Cross, built by the Guild of the Holy Cross, was destroyed in 1644 by Sir W. Waller. The present cross, which is really a market-house, was built in 1667 from plans of Inigo Jones, and was restored in 1853.

After a visit to the remains of the monastic buildings, the drive was continued to Dorchester.

This town is situated near the junction of the rivers Thame and Thames, and was a place of some importance in British, Roman and Saxon times. Bede calls it Dorcic,[1] but later historians tell us that the British called it "Caer Dwr," the city on the water, and the Romans "Durocina." British inscribed gold coins, Roman gold, silver and bronze coins, and Saxon silver coins have been found here in abundance.[2]

We learn from Bede that A.D. 634 the West Saxons began to embrace the faith of Christ at the preaching of Birinus, who had been sent into Britain by Pope Honorius. In 653 Cynegils, King of Wessex, was baptised by Birinus at Dorchester, Oswald, the Northumbrian Bretwalda, standing as sponsor to the king and afterwards becoming his son-in-law. Then the two kings, for Oswald was Cynegils' overlord,

[1] *Ecc. Hist.*, iii, 168.

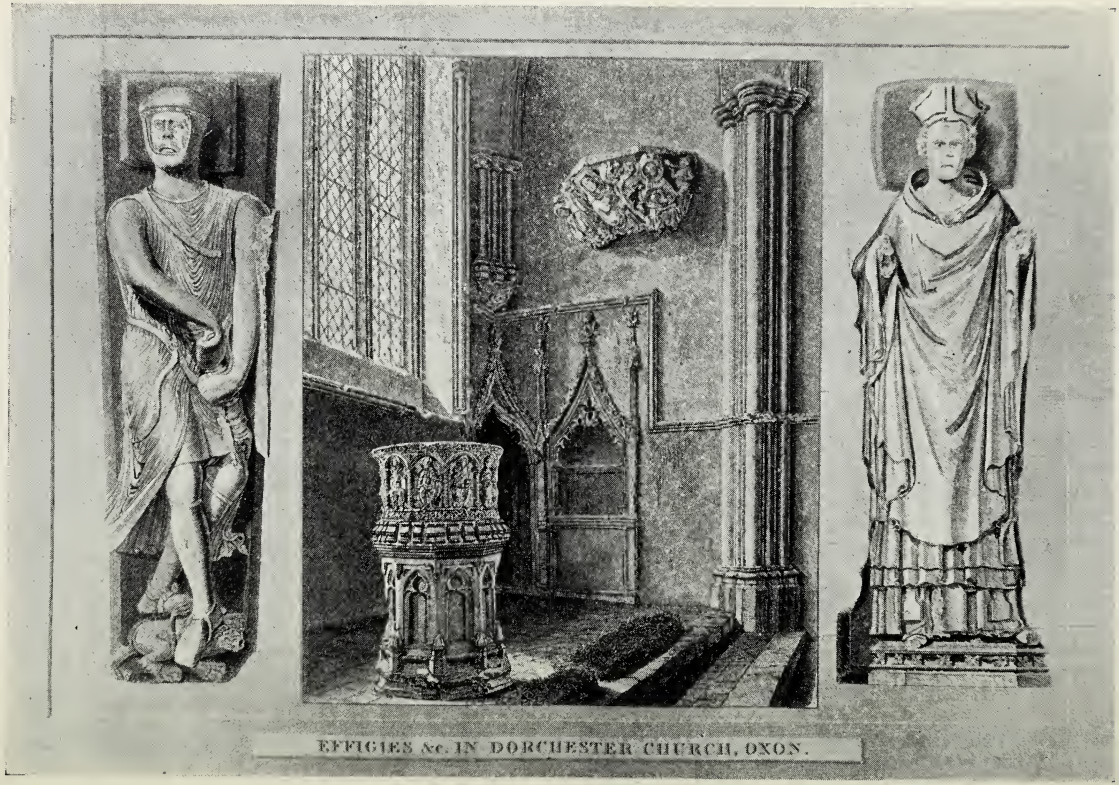
[2] Skelton's *Oxfordshire*, see illustration op. p. 10, Dorchester Hundred.

gave Dorchester to Birinus as a seat of a West Saxon bishopric, and he built churches there and gained many converts for Christ. Heddi, one of the successors of Birinus, transferred the seat of the bishopric from Dorchester to Winchester, *c.* A.D. 676, and from that time Dorchester ceased to be a West Saxon see. Later on, as the result of the ocnquest of South Anglia by the Danes, Dorchester was constituted a Mercian bishopric, which extended from the Thames to the Humber. This arrangement continued till 1086, when Remigius, the Norman bishop of Dorchester, transferred his episcopal chair to Lincoln, and began to build that glorious cathedral. In 1542 Henry VIII founded the new See of Oxford, with Oxfordshire for its diocese. Birinus is said to have given his cathedral into the charge of secular canons, and they held it until 1140, when Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, substituted for them regular Augustinian canons. These held the church, though no longer the seat of a bishop, until the Dissolution, when a kinsman of Abbot Beauforest bought it from the king and gave it to the parishioners.

Here the Rev. N. C. S. POYNTZ explained to the members the history of the existing church.

Towards the close of the twelfth century the canons broke down the east wall of the north transept and constructed an eastern chapel; they also pierced the blank walls and inserted round-headed arches between the transepts and the choir. Some late Norman work in the north-east angle of the north aisle seems to show that the chancel was extended thus far at this time. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, when Early English was passing into Decorated, the canons opened up an arcade of three fine arches on the north side of the chancel, and constructed a north aisle extending as far east as the end of the chancel. About twenty years later they treated the south side in a same way, constructing an aisle of far larger proportions with a vaulted crypt at its east end. About the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century they took down three-fourths of the south wall of the nave and inserted an arcade of three arches to connect the nave with a large south aisle which had been built for the use of the parishioners. In about 1340 they took down the east end of the chancel, and constructed the present sanctuary with its three magnificent windows on the north-east and south and its unique sedilia. In the fifteenth century the parishioners built the south porch, and as late as the end of the seventeenth century the western tower. In 1650 the northern end of the north transept and of its eastern chapel were destroyed.

The objects of special interest to the ordinary visitor are the Jesse window on the north side of the sanctuary, with twenty-five figures carved on the stonework and sixteen painted on the glass; the sedilia,



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EFFIGIES, &c., IN DORCHESTER CHURCH, OXON.

with four lights under the canopy filled with original early stained glass, representing scenes in the life of St. Birinus ; the effigy of a cross-legged knight with a flat-topped cap, said by Leland to commemorate Sir John Holcome ; the effigies of Chief Justice Stonor (*c.* 1350) and of Lord Segrave, Governor of Wallingford Castle (*c.* 1400) ; the brass of Abbot Beauforest ; the Norman leaden font on a Perpendicular base ; the carved bracket, representing the awakening of the foolish virgins ; the carved stalls in the choir ; stone slabs in the south chancel aisle, especially that of Bishop Aeschwyne (*c.* 1002) ; the remains of St. Birinus' shrine in the nave, etc.

More detailed information with regard to this most interesting church may be found in a work on Dorchester, published by the Oxford Architectural Society in 1845, Professor Freeman's paper in the Oxford *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*, 1850, and the Vicar of Dorchester's notes in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlvii.

The members went on from Dorchester to Ewelme, the name of which village signifies the head of the spring. It was a place of little importance until early in the fifteenth century, when Sir Thomas Chaucer and the de la Pole family took up their residence here. In the reign of Edward III, Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellor of England, was created Earl of Suffolk, but died in exile in 1389. His son, Michael, died at Harfleur in 1415, and his grandson, Michael, was slain at the Battle of Agincourt in the same year. William, another grandson, was created Marquis and subsequently Duke of Suffolk. He married Alice, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Chaucer, who was lord of the manor of Brill, co. Bucks, and also in right of his wife, Maud Burghurst, of Ewelme and Donington.

This Thomas is said to have been the son of Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, and of Philippa, daughter of Sir Paon Roet and sister of Catherine Swynford. The fact that he uses the Roet arms—*gules, three Catherine wheels or*—favours this supposition.

Thomas Chaucer died in 1434, and was buried at Ewelme.

In 1437 William, Duke of Suffolk, and Alice, his wife, founded a hospital or almshouse and also a school at Ewelme.

In 1448 the duke was suspected of contriving the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and was committed to the Tower. On being released by Henry VI, he sailed from Ipswich, hoping to escape to the Continent, but was taken prisoner by the captain of a vessel belonging to the Duke of Exeter, the Constable of the Tower, was landed at Dover, and beheaded there. Alice, his widow, appears to have lived at Ewelme until her death in 1475, at the age of 64.

Their son, John, subsequently married Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister

of Edward IV. In 1513 Edmund, the son of this John, having been beheaded for treason, Ewelme escheated to the king, and continued in the hands of the Crown. The manor house, built by Sir Thomas Chaucer, is described by Leland in his *Itinerary*, and an engraving of it appears in Bucks' *Antiquities*.

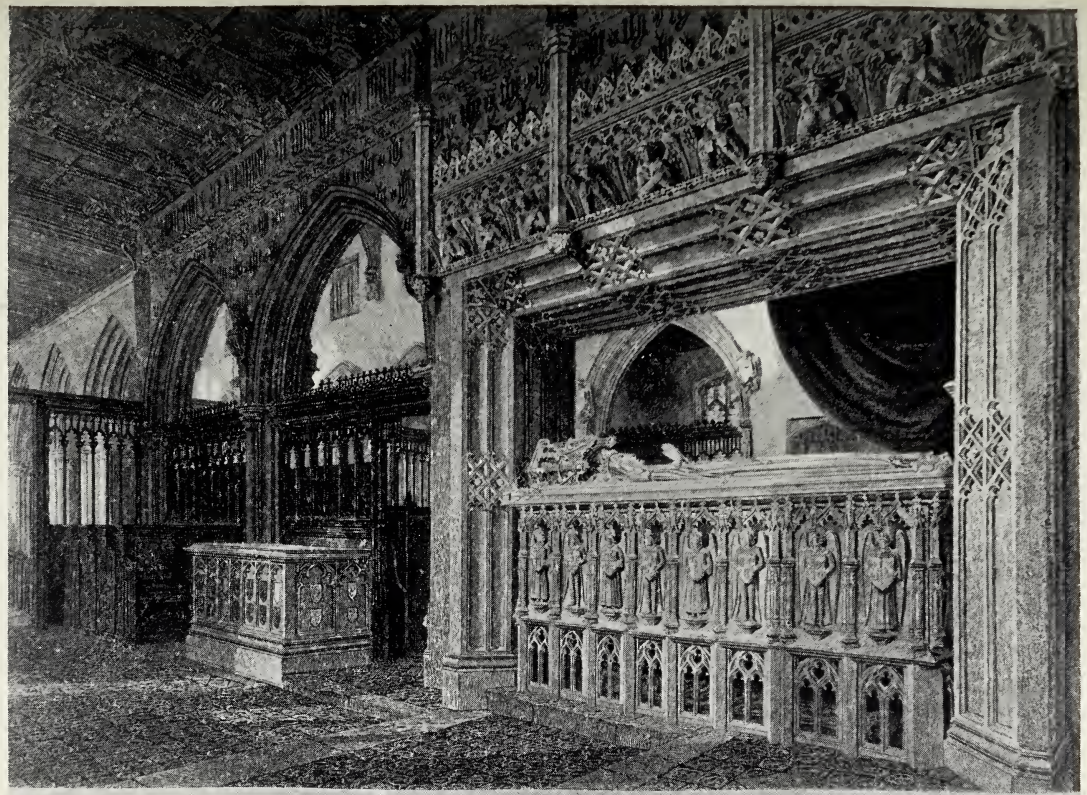
The beautiful Church of Ewelme is entirely of one style and date, a very fine example of the Perpendicular of the first half of the fifteenth century. It consists of a nave with north and south aisles and porches, a western tower, and chancel with north and south aisles, the south aisle being called St. John's Chapel and the north aisle having a vestry at its east end.

The font has a fine original canopy suspended from the roof. The objects of greatest interest in the church are the magnificent tombs of the Duchess of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Chaucer, her father, both of which are rich in enamelled heraldic shields. The effigy of the duchess lies on an altar tomb habited in tunic or kirtle, gown and wimple, with a coronet on her head and the order of the garter on her left arm. Her head rests on a cushion supported by four angels, and on the sides of the tomb are other angels bearing heraldic shields. Below her effigy is seen her emaciated cadaver in a shroud. The painted ceiling represents the assumption of the Virgin. The inscription, as given by Skelton, is as follows: "Orate pro anima serenissimae principissae Aliciae Ducissae Suffolciae hujus ecclesiae patronae fundatricis hujus eleemosynariae, quae obiit xx die mensis Maii, anno 1475."

The effigies of Sir Thomas Chaucer and his wife, Matilda, rest on an altar tomb of grey marble. He wears plate armour of the time of Henry VI, and at his feet is a unicorn. At Lady Chaucer's feet is a lion with a forked tail, the crest of the Burghersts. In studying the arms it must be remembered that Sir Thomas married the heiress of Burgherst, and that the duchess was married thrice, *i.e.* to (1) Sir John Philip, Knt., (2) Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and (3) William, Duke of Suffolk. The arms of Sir Thomas Chaucer are given by Papworth as *per pale argent and gules a bend counterchanged*,[1] but he appears to bear the arms of Roet here as his own. The inscription as preserved by Leland was; "Hic jacet dominus Thomas Chaucer, Armiger, quondam dominus istius villae et Patronus istius ecclesiae, qui obiit xviii die mensis Novembris A.D. 1434 et Metildis uxor ejus, quae obiit xxviii die Aprilis A.D. 1436."

The arms, many of which had disappeared in 1823, were copied by Anthony Wood, who died A.D. 1695, and his MS. is preserved in the College of Heralds. Many other tombs also that he noticed have since

[1] These arms are said to be on his seal.



THE CHAUCER AND SUFFOLK MONUMENTS, &c., IN EWELME CHURCH.

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THE CHAUCER AND SUFFOLK MONUMENTS, &c., IN EWELME CHURCH.

been defaced or removed. As Thomas Chaucer is called the patron of the church, and his arms, as well as those of Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, appeared in the windows and elsewhere, it is fair to attribute its erection to him, his wife, and daughter before the de la Pole marriage. The tombs of many descendants of Sir Matthew Hale in the churchyard will interest Gloucestershire folk.

As Canon Cruttwell, Rector of Ewelme, was absent from home, his son very kindly met the party and acted as guide.

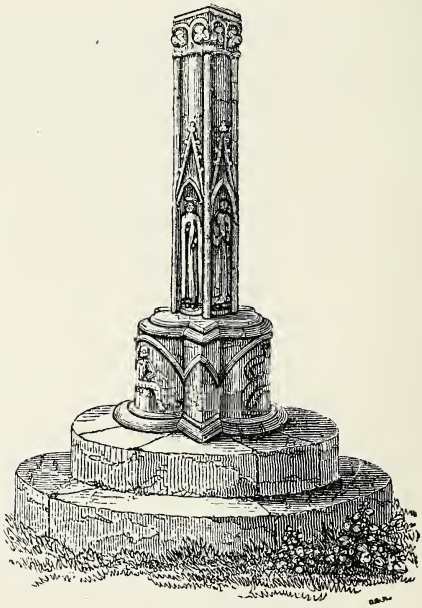
Ewelme Hospital, of which the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford (Professor Osler) is master *ex officio*, is a square pile of buildings on the outer four sides of a cloister and central court. Here thirteen poor men and women spend their last days, and they worship in St. John's Chapel, where lie the Chaucer and de la Pole monuments. The school, founded by the duchess, stands below the Hospital to the west of the church and near the highway.

In the evening the members of the Society were most kindly received and hospitably entertained by Professor and Mrs. Oman in the Hall of All Souls' College, where also they were welcomed by the President of the Society and Mrs. Warren. A paper on "The Founder's Book of Tewkesbury Abbey" was read by the fortunate owner of the volume, the Rev. C. H. Bickerton Hudson, M.A., of Magdalen College, which is printed in the present volume of the *Transactions*.

On Thursday morning most of the members drove out first of all to Yarnton, which appears in Domesday Book as *Hardintone*. The true name of the parish, however, as would appear from ancient records, is Eardington. It is not uncommon, on the borders of Gloucestershire, to find such place-names pronounced as though they began with a Y. Thus Ebberton is called Yebberton. Another Eardington in Warwickshire has also become Yarnton.

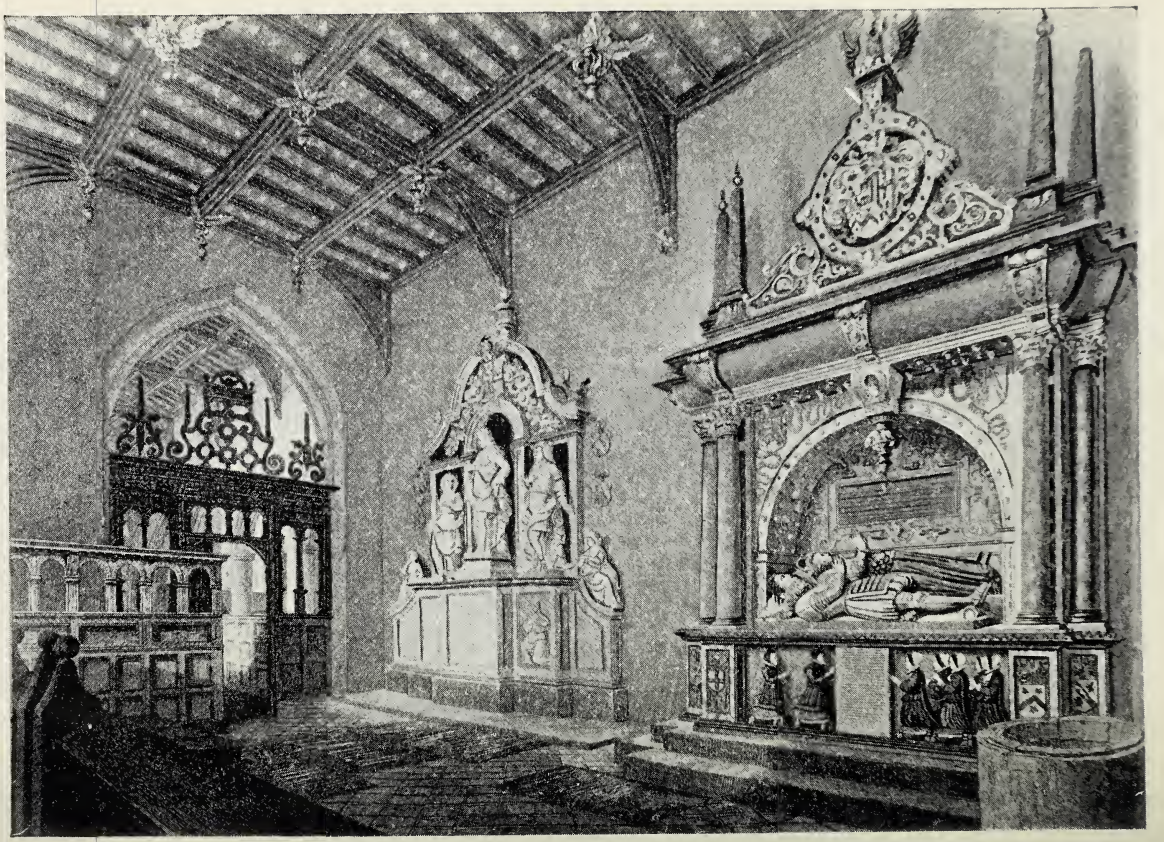
In 1005 King Aethelred conferred the gift of Eardington on the Abbey of Eynesham. In 1154 Henry II seized Yarnton and gave it to Bernard St. Valery. Later on it escheated to Henry III, and he conferred it on his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who gave it to the Cistercian Abbey which he had founded at Rewley. At the Dissolution it was granted to George Owen, the king's physician, and in 1584 it became the property of the Spencers, of Althorpe. At the close of the seventeenth century Sir Robert Dashwood bought three-fourths of the manor and Benjamin Swete one-fourth. The charming Jacobean manor house, built by the Spencers about 1612, was bought and restored a few years ago by the late Mr. Franklin. His widow resides there at the present time, and she most courteously invited the Society to visit it.

The church, where the members were received by the Rev. B. Parsons, was originally a Norman structure, and the Norman south door has happily survived the rebuilding of the church in the thirteenth century. In a plan of the church, drawn by Mr. James Parker, it is suggested that the present south aisle was originally the nave. The church, as we see it to-day, has an Early English nave with an arcade of four arches on the south side and chancel arch of the same style. The chancel has on the north side two very early windows, deeply splayed, one with a round and the other with a pointed head. The windows of the nave and south aisles are fifteenth-century insertions. The tower and the Spencer Chapel, built in 1611, are Perpendicular in character, though somewhat debased. There is an excellent Jacobean screen between the south aisle and the Spencer Chapel. and another in the tower arch.



CHURCHYARD CROSS, YARNTON.

A great deal of beautiful stained glass was inserted in the windows of the church by Mr. Fletcher, whose tomb may be seen near the tower arch. The later glass is Flemish in character, but has inscriptions in English, showing it to have been made in this country by artists from the Netherlands. As a collection the glass is well worth careful study.



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SPENCER TOMBS IN YARNTON CHURCH.

There are two pieces of sixteenth-century glass with the badge of Henry VIII, *a Tudor rose*, and of Katharine of Arragon, *a rose surrounded by many arrows*. Their daughter, Queen Mary, bore *a Tudor rose dimidiated by a sheaf of arrows*.

The Spencers of Yarnton were an offshoot of the Althorpe family, and bore by way of difference over the Spencer shield *a bend sable, charged with 3 escallop shells argent*. In the Spencer Chapel are two fine monuments. (1) To Sir William Spencer and his wife, daughter of Francis Bowyer, with two sons and five daughters. This knight was the builder of the tower and chapel. (2) To Sir Thomas Spencer, the last of the family, who died in 1684, and his wife Jane, who died in 1712.

Behind the Lord's Table were six alabaster slabs carved in high relief representing (1) a queen crowned, a king bearing a sword, and other figures; (2) the adoration by the magi; (3) the crucified Saviour and the two Marys; (4) the betrayal of Christ; (5) our Lord bearing His cross; and (6) a pieta. These are depicted on the frontispiece of Skelton's *Oxfordshire*. Some years ago the then rector and his churchwardens removed 1 and 3, and they passed into the hands of Mr. Jewitt, whose descendant still holds them. It is to be hoped that they will be restored to the church; not that they originally belonged to Yarnton, for they were found under the floor of a house in Oxford, near St. Edmund's Hall, and were bought by Mr. Fletcher. The old font is in the Spencer Chapel; the Perpendicular one, now in use, came from St. Michael's Church, Oxford. The base and sculptured shaft of a fine cross may be seen in the churchyard near the north door of the church.

A short drive brought the party to Woodstock.

King Ethelred held an assembly here in 1009. Henry I built a royal mansion here, and made a park seven miles in circumference. Henry II held a council at Woodstock in 1163, and here, legend says, dwelt Rosamund Clifford, a Gloucestershire lady of whom we can scarcely be proud, though she may have been as beautiful as the king thought her. Rosamund's Well is still shown in the park. John, Henry III and Edward III paid visits to Woodstock, and here Queen Philippa in 1354 gave birth to Thomas, of Woodstock, created Duke of Gloucester. The Manor of Woodstock was granted by Henry VI to George Neville, Archbishop of York. Elizabeth was imprisoned here as princess, and was when queen a benefactress to the town. The old mansion was destroyed in the Civil Wars. Queen Anne gave the honour of the Manor of Woodstock to John, Duke of Marlborough and his heirs as a reward for his services, and he commemorated his greatest victory by calling the house which was built by Sir John Vanburgh for him at the public expense Blenheim Palace.

Here the members were conducted through the state rooms and library and the beautiful gardens and grounds, which were clothed in all their summer splendour. The historic treasures of the palace were viewed with much interest. The views from the palace and drives are very beautiful, but the architecture of the house itself, however imposing, fails to give much pleasure.

After lunch the company drove on to Northleigh.

This manor is stated in Domesday Survey to have belonged to Roger de Iveri, who was also lord of Tetbury, and who died in 1091. In 1149 Northleigh is mentioned as part of the Barony of Hokenorton, given by Robert d'Oyly to Oseney. In 1277 the Bishop of Lincoln confirmed a grant of Northleigh Church by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, to Hayles Abbey. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Manor of Northleigh was held by the Wilcotes. The church is a delightful puzzle for the antiquary. It consists of a Transitional Norman chancel, Transitional Norman nave with north and south aisles, and an Early Norman tower; on the north side of the chancel is a beautiful little fifteenth-century chantry chapel with vaulted roof, and on the north side of the north aisle is a comparatively modern chapel containing many memorials of the Perrot family. The tower, which is at the west end, has weather mouldings on its west side, showing that it was at one time in the middle of the church, or that at least it had some kind of building with a high-pitched roof on its west as well as on its east side. The rough-cast plaster has partly fallen off, revealing very massive rubble walls with long and short ashlar work. The belfry windows have two semicircular-headed lights divided by a rude balluster shaft, encircled with an annulet and surmounted by a capital of Early Norman character, which supports a plain oblong impost extending through the thickness of the wall. Front this impost two sides of the arches spring. This tower has been called "Saxon," and it is certainly earlier than the rest of the church. There is only one other belfry window in Oxfordshire like it, *i.e.* in St. Michael's Church, Oxford, and this has also been called Saxon.[1] But we are told that Robert d'Oyly, the builder of Oxford Castle, after his recovery from a dangerous sickness, rebuilt the parochial churches of Oxford, and amongst them St. Michael's. Now as he was the possessor of Northleigh, it would seem probable that he also built the tower of this church, and that the keep of Oxford Castle and the tower of St. Michael's and Northleigh are all of late eleventh-century date.

The roof of the tower is modern, and there is a Perpendicular battlement. The nave has two Transitional Norman pointed arches on either

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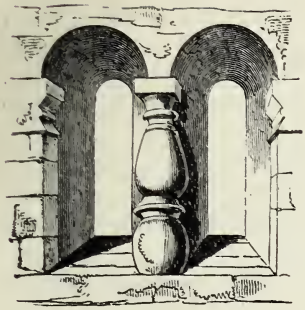
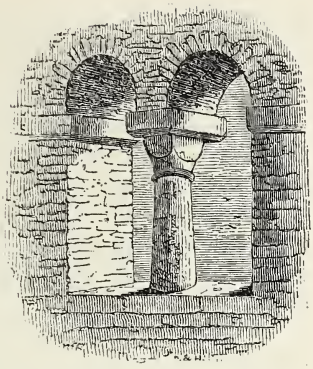
THE WILCOTES EFFIGIES IN NORTHLEIGH CHURCH.



NORTHLEIGH.



ST. MICHAEL'S, OXFORD.

WINDOWS.

side resting on round pillars and plain responds. The south aisle has Perpendicular square-headed windows; the south door is Norman with a round arch and billet moulding. The slender shafts have caps with inverted-cone moulding and annular bases. A Perpendicular pointed arch appears to have been inserted below the Norman one.

At the east end of the north aisle is a Perpendicular door leading into the Wilcote or Blacket chantry chapel. The fan-tracery of this chapel roof is extremely graceful. A piscina shows that the chantry altar stood at the east end. The patent for this chantry was granted to Dame Elizabeth Blacket, previously wife of Sir W. Wilcote, in 19 Henry VI, 1440–1.

On the south side of the chapel, under an arch between the chapel and the chancel, is an early fifteenth-century altar-tomb with two magnificent recumbent effigies. The male figure undoubtedly represents Sir William Wilcote, Sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1391 and 1392, who died in 1411. The armour, which is characteristic of the close of the fourteenth century, no doubt represents what the knight actually wore. On the head is the bascinet, to which is attached the camail of interlaced mail to guard the neck and shoulders. Over this is a collar of S.S., the badge of Henry IV. The knight wears the horizontal bawdrick, to which is attached on the right side the misericorde or dagger, and also a diagonal belt, to which the sword is attached on the left side. The body is protected by a habergeon of chain mail, over which is a jupon charged with the arms of Wilcote, *sable, an eagle displayed argent.* The middle clasp of the bawdrick has also an eagle. The arms and legs are protected by plate armour with elbow pieces and genouillères. Around

the bascinet is an orle to lighten the pressure of the tilting helm when worn, and over the forehead is engraved I.H.S. Nazaren. The head rests on the tilting helm, which bears the knight's crest. *an eagle with wings erect argent, beaked sable,* and at his feet is a lion.

The female figure represents Elizabeth, daughter of John Tyrowe, of Castleton, who bore *argent a chevron invecked sable, between three escallop shells of the second.*

She died in 1442, but the costume of her effigy is much earlier than this. She also wears a collar of S.S. and a jewelled orle. Weeping angels with heraldic shields support the cushion on which her head rests.

In the same chapel is a monument to William Lenthall, father of the Speaker in the Long Parliament.

The Wilcote effigies may be compared with the effigies of an unknown knight and lady in Gloucester Cathedral, described in our *Transactions*, vol. xxvii, and of rather later date than these.

The chancel of Northleigh Church has been restored in a so-called "Italian" style, but the east window is Decorated.

In 1813 a Roman villa was discovered at Northleigh, which was excavated during the three years following. The plan as given in Skelton's *Oxfordshire* shows it to be of the usual character—a large open space with buildings on the north, east, and west, and a covered portico or cloister on the south with an entrance in the middle. With the exception of one piece of pavement, which was protected, this villa has been allowed to be grown over and obliterated, but recently parts of it have been laid bare again.

The Vicar, the Rev. G. J. Scott, very kindly met the party, and conducted them over the church and Roman villa.

A pleasant drive brought the members to Southleigh, which in 1086 was held by Roger de Iveri. In 1147 Richard de Camvil granted the chapel to the Abbey of Reading. The manor passed with the heiress of the Camvils to the Harcourts, who held it till the seventeenth century. Since then it has been held by the Skinners, Martens, Gores, and Sibthorpes.

The church consists of chancel with north chapel, nave with north aisle, and south porch, and a tower at the west end.

The chancel walls, one of the windows, the priest's door on the south, a piscina, and the string moulding are all Transitional Norman. The east and south windows are late Perpendicular insertions. One, with a square head, has a wavy moulding under the hood. There is a Perpendicular arch leading into the north chapel, and there is a Perpendicular screen across the entrance to the chancel and north choir

chapel. The nave has an arcade on the north side of three Perpendicular arches, and nearly all the windows of the nave and nave north aisle are of that date.

In the south porch are the remains of a holy water stoup. The chancel arch is Early English. The staircase to the rood-loft remains, and is used as an entrance to the pulpit. John Wesley preached his first sermon in this church in 1725. In the windows may be seen the badge of Edward IV, *the sun in splendour.*

The principal interest of the church lies in its wall paintings, which are in unusually good condition. Over the chancel arch is a Doom picture, and on the south wall is St. Michael weighing a soul under great difficulties, for Our Lady is throwing her beads into the scales on one side and a devil is dragging them down on the other. These paintings were discovered in 1872.

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The party then went on to Stanton Harcourt, which village probably derives the former of its names from three prehistoric monumental stones called the devil's coits. The manor was granted by Adeliza, second queen of Henry I, to her kinswoman, Milicent, wife of Richard de Camvil, and it passed in marriage with their daughter and heiress, Isabel, to Robert de Harcourt. Since this time it has borne the name of Stanton Harcourt. It is still in the possession of that family. The church is cruciform, having a central tower, chancel with a chapel or aisle on the south, transepts, and a nave without aisles.

The chancel is a perfect specimen of early thirteenth-century architecture, with a fine lancet window at the east end, having three detached lights, within a fine hood moulding outside, and triple shafts with foliated caps inside. On the north side six lancet windows in triplets remain ; on the south side only one triplet survives, the other having been destroyed to make room for two Perpendicular arches. An Early English priest's doorway is blocked up. On the south side of the altar is an Early English piscina standing on a shaft. On the north side is an altar-tomb which is thought to have done service as an Easter sepulchre. This is attributed to Isabella de Camvil. The canopy is Decorated, but the altar-tomb itself appears to be of another date. Westward of this, under an obtuse arch, is the effigy of Maud Grey, of Rotherfield, wife of Sir Thomas de Harcourt, who died in the reign of Richard II. The transepts and the arches supporting the tower are Early English, the super-structure of the tower is Perpendicular. The Early English rood-screen is one of the earliest in England. There is an elegant stair turret by which the rood-screen was approached on the angle formed by the chancel and north transept. The nave is Norman, and retains its original north and south doorways and two windows. The font is

Perpendicular, and is carved with emblems of the Passion. The arms of Bryon show the date to be about 1450. The roof of the nave is of the fourteenth century.

The Harcourt Chapel on the south side of the chancel contains several effigies. (1 and 2) Sir Robert Harcourt and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Bryon. Both wear the Yorkist collar of sun and roses. He was slain in 1471, and his armour is of the reign of Edward IV. She wears the garter on her left arm, as do Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, at Ewelme, and Constance, Duchess of Norfolk. (3) Sir Robert Harcourt, grandson of the above, who was standard-bearer to Henry VII at Bosworth. He wears a collar of S.S. and is bare-headed, as was the custom at the close of the fifteenth century.

Comparatively little of the old manor house remains, the more interesting parts being (1) Pope's Tower with a chapel in the base and rooms over—it is so called from its having been occupied by Alexander Pope in 1718, and (2) the fifteenth-century kitchen, which is square with an octagonal roof. There is no chimney, but beneath the eaves of the roof are shutters to give vent to the smoke. On the apex of the roof stands a griffin holding a flag. The house ceased to be occupied by the Harcourts in 1688.

This programme constituted a very full day, and the members returned to Oxford much gratified with their outing. Arrangements had been made for visits to points of interest in the city for those members who would prefer them to a country drive, and in the morning Mr. James Parker most kindly accompanied a party to the top of the Radcliff Library and to some of the University buildings. A series of visits arranged for the afternoon fell through for lack of members to accompany the guides who had most kindly offered to conduct them.

A short general meeting was held immediately after breadfast on Friday morning. A large number of members then attended Matins held in the Latin Chapel of the Cathedral, where for very many years the lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity were delivered. After Matins the Rev. E. W. Watson, Canon in Residence, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, most kindly conducted the members round the House, explaining the historical interest of the different parts, commencing with the Cathedral, and drawing attention to the munificence and practical wisdom of Cardinal Wolsey, who acquired and paid for (a point frequently omitted by his royal master) the whole of the land, then thickly covered with houses, which lay between the Cathedral and St. Aldate's Street.

Christ Church owes its origin to St. Frideswide, who lived early in the eighth century, when Ethelbald was King of Mercia. In later

Saxon times the convent, which she founded and ruled as prioress, was changed into a house of secular canons. These continued to hold it until the Norman Conquest, when it was handed over to the Benedictines, and became a cell of Abingdon Abbey.

In 1111 it was given to the canons regular of St. Augustine, and it remained in their hands until its suppression in 1524 under a bull from Pope Clement VII. John Barton, its last prior, was made Abbot of Osney, and St. Frideswide's, together with other monasteries which had shared its fate, was granted to Thomas Wolsey by Henry VIII for his new foundation, Cardinal College. In 1532, three years after Wolsey's disgrace, the king became its patron, and endowed it with £2,000 a year. In 1546 he removed the seat of the new bishopric of Oxford from Osney to St. Frideswide's, and established the new foundation as partly academical and partly episcopal, under the name of Christ Church. It is a matter of controversy whether the schools known to have been set up at Oxford by Guimond, Prior of St. Frideswide 1122–41, were or were not the beginning of the University, just as that of Paris may be traced to the schools of Notre Dame.

Wolsey built the great kitchen, the south range of Tom quadrangle, including the hall, and also the greater part of the east and west ranges. The quadrangle was not completed till 1665. To Tom Gate, which Wolsey left unfinished, Sir Christopher Wren in 1682 added the vaulting. tower, and cupola. The staircase leading to the hall, a remarkable example of seventeenth-century Perpendicular, was built in the reign of Charles I. To the east of this staircase are the old conventual buildings of St. Frideswide—the cloisters with the vestry, chapter house, and dormitory in their east walk, and the frater or refectory on the south. Wolsey destroyed fifty feet of the nave of the conventual church and the west walk of the cloisters to make room for his new college.

The library of the House was commenced in 1716 and completed in 1761. Peckwater quadrangle was built on the site of Peckwater's Inn about 1705, and Canterbury quadrangle on the site of Canterbury Hall about 1770. The hall was built in 1529. Its roof, which is of carved oak, bears the arms of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey. More than seventy portraits of distinguished members of Christ Church hang on its walls. Our members were interested in the portraits of George Smallridge (1714), Hugh Boulter (1719), William Bradshaw (1724), and John Conybeare (1750), Bishops of Bristol, and of Thomas Ravys (1604), Milo Smith (1612), and Martin Benson (1734), Bishops of Gloucester.

The conventual Church of St. Frideswide, now Christ Church Cathedral, consists of a shortened nave with north and south aisles; a central tower with north and south transepts, the south transept having

an eastern chapel dedicated to St. Lucy; and choir with north and south aisles. A Lady Chapel and the Latin Chapel lie to the north beyond the north aisle.

Members of this Society who took part in our visit to Oxford in 1891 will remember a very interesting lecture by Mr. Park Harrison, to whom the whole credit is due for the discovery of early Saxon work at the east end of the Cathedral.

The original form of St. Frideswide's Church has been shown to be an oblong nave with two narrow aisles and three eastern apses, the middle one being much the longest of the three. The present Lady Chapel stands on the site of the central gangway of the Saxon nave. Aethelred II is said to have restored and enlarged St. Frideswide's after the massacre of St. Brice's Day, 1002. The Austin Canons, probably in the time of Prior Robert, of Cricklade, 1141–80, rebuilt the church, retaining some of the older work and possibly some of the carved capitals of Aethelred's time. In the fourteenth century the beautiful Latin Chapel was built on the north side of the Lady Chapel, and some of the windows of the church were altered from Norman into Decorated. The east window, so treated, and spoilt in the seventeenth century, was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott to its Norman character. About 1480 many Perpendicular windows were inserted. To the same period the fine tomb, known as the Watching Chamber, but thought to be St. Frideswide's third shrine, must be assigned.

Wolsey, as we have seen, destroyed the three westernmost bays of the Norman nave, and began to build a new college chapel along the north side of Tom quadrangle. This was never finished, and was pulled down in 1671.

The Cathedral Church has had to endure many restorations, one indeed, in 1630, which nearly destroyed its Gothic character. Much mischief, moreover, was done in the Civil War. But as restored by Sir Gilbert Scott, if it is inferior to all our other English Cathedrals in size, it is certainly not so in beauty or architectural interest.

The party then went on to Merton, the earliest of the colleges, which was so named from its founder, Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of England, who died in 1277. This "house of scholars" was first instituted in 1264 at Maldon, in Surrey, but was removed to Oxford about 1274. The choir of the church, for it was more than a college chapel, was begun in 1277. It was intended in the first place that the church should be cruciform with a central tower, but the nave and its aisles, although planned, were never built. The foundations of the tower arches and the transepts were laid in 1330, and the work of construction went on at intervals until 1424, when the church

F. Mackenzie. J. Le-Keux.

MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL, FROM THE QUADRANGLE.

was re-dedicated in honour of God, St. Mary and St. John Baptist. In other college chapels where the Merton type has been followed, and where there were no parochial rights, the part west of the choir is called the ante-chapel. The windows of the choir, and especially the great east window with its Catherine Wheel head, are some of the most beautiful examples of Decorated we possess. The transept windows have been thought by some to be the earliest examples of Perpendicular after Gloucester, where we claim this style to have originated under Abbot Wygmore, 1329–37. The tower was completed in 1451. The college hall, reconstructed in 1872, retains some original thirteenth-century ironwork on the door. The treasury, with its high-pitched roof, is a very interesting example of the same date.

The library was built towards the close of the fourteenth century.

On the east side of the front quadrangle is a group of buildings known until 1882 as St. Alban's Hall. This hall was founded in 1230, and was first tenanted by nuns. Later on it was leased to Merton. At the Dissolution it came to Wolsey with St. Frideswide, and then to Henry VIII, who gave it to Merton. Its hall was rebuilt in 1600 and enlarged in 1863 and 1866. In 1905–7, after its incorporation with Merton, it was completely altered.

When the members were gathered in the little Mob Quad at Merton they were standing in the birthplace of the English collegiate system, looking up to the oldest chapel, surrounded by the oldest quadrangle, under the shadow of the oldest library, and having to the east of them the oldest domestic buildings and the walls of the oldest hall. These venerable walls formed that fortress of learning which, as Mr. Madan told us at Brasenose, baffled the forces of the mob after the terrible time of the riots of St. Scholastica's Day, 1354, when the townsmen stormed the halls and drove out the students till their victorious course was brought to a stop before the walls of Merton. Then for a whole year, while the town lay under ecclesiastical discipline and the students were scattered far and wide, only within the grey walls which are still standing could the pursuit of true religion and useful learning be carried on in Oxford.

Walter de Merton, the founder of the college, and through it of the collegiate system of the English Universities, was Bishop of Rochester and twice Chancellor of England. His first term of office ended shortly after the defeat of the king at Lewes, of which we heard last year, and the victory at Evesham in the little valley which we visited brought him back to wealth and favour, though not at once to office. The earliest charter of foundation dates from the later months of 1264, between the two battles, and called into being a double community, or

House of the Scholars of Merton, at Oxford or elsewhere where a University exists, consisting of a warden and bailiffs at Maldon in Surrey, where the estates lay, and twenty students at Oxford, supported by the Surrey estates. Immediately after the Battle of Evesham the founder began to prepare a permanent home in Oxford. On January 11th, 1266, he purchased the site of the chapel and the advowson of the Church of St. John Baptist, and by the end of 1268 he had acquired the whole of the present site of the college. In 1270 he issued a second code of statutes, and in August, 1274, immediately after his resignation of his second term of Chancellorship, he issued a final code, which continued in force with little alteration till some half century ago, and which formed the model which determined the constitution of all the colleges both at Oxford and Cambridge; for Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, founder in 1280 of Peterhouse, the oldest of the Cambridge colleges, ordered that his scholars should live "according to the rule of the Scholars at Oxford who bear the name of Merton."

The essential mark of the foundation was that it should be a college of secular clerks, devoted to the study of theology and canon law; no monk or friar could be a member of the college. Any member who entered religion forfeited his membership. The great Benedictine houses of the West Country seem to have noticed the restriction, and it may very well have been as a counter-weight to the House of the Secular Scholars of Merton that in 1283, nine years after their final settlement at Oxford, Sir John Giffard, of Brimpsfield, founded a house in the same place for the instruction of the younger Benedictines under the name of Gloucester Hall. It is interesting to notice the ancient connection of Gloucester with both these houses. The oldest Merton document is a licence of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, dated May 7th, 1262, confirmed on September 9th, 1264, by Gilbert de Clare, as feudal lord, empowering Walter de Merton to assign his manors of Farley and Maldon for the benefit of the House of Merton; and so it is that the oldest of the English colleges has always borne the arms of de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, with a difference—on the golden ground the first chevron azure and gules, the second gules and azure, the third azure and gules—while the Benedictine Hall which rose side by side with the secular House of Merton was founded by a Gloucestershire landowner, and took its name from Gloucester Abbey, feudal lords and ancient abbey alike bearing a helpful part in the cause of learning. Would that Church and State had always worked together so wisely and well!

The chapel is interesting because for more than six centuries it was both a parish church and college chapel. The site and advowson of the

parish church of St. John Baptist were granted to the founder on January 11th, 1266, by Richard, Abbot of Reading, and the appropriation of the church was confirmed to the college on September 13th in the same year by the Bishop of Lincoln. The parochial services were held in the transepts and under the tower, and Merton Church was the first which provided daily Communion, Matins, and Evensong for the Church Congress, at the meeting held in July, 1862. At that time a very beautiful parochial service was maintained under the charge of the Rev. H. W. Sargent, first Vicar-designate of All Saints', Clifton; but after his death the parish service sank into insignificance, and the church ceased to be parochial in 1891, when its parish was united with that of St. Peter's-in-the-East, which had also been appropriated to the college on September 13th, 1266.

Members afterwards went on to the Ashmolean Museum, which owes its origin to John Tradescant, a Dutchman, who lived in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He was a great botanist and lover of natural history, and his son, who inherited his tastes, imported many new plants. When the latter died in 1662 he bequeathed his collections to Elias Ashmole, who added to them medals, coins, paintings, manuscripts, and books, and then presented everything to the University. In 1683 a museum was built to hold the collection near the Divinity Schools, in Broad Street. A few years ago the natural history and anthropological objects were removed to the New University Museum, near Keble College, and the rest to the new Ashmolean Museum in Beaumont Street, opposite the Randolph Hotel. On the ground floor and in the basement is a sculpture gallery containing the Arundel Marbles, the Pomfret Statues, etc. On the first floor are (1) examples of prehistoric, Anglo-Saxon, Egyptian, and Oriental art, (2) classical antiquities, (3) renaissance art, and (4) the picture gallery. On the upper floor is the Ashmolean Library.

In the afternoon the members visited Worcester College. Its great interest for us lies in the fact that it was founded in 1283 by a Gloucestershire man, Sir John Giffard, of Brimpsfield, and till the Dissolution it was closely connected with St. Peter's Abbey, now Gloucester Cathedral, and with the other great Benedictine houses at Winchcombe and Evesham.

Gloucester Hall, as it was called from 1283 to 1540, was the earliest monastic house established in Oxford. The building purchased by Giffard had previously been a residence of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and then of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. After the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when its connection with the Benedictines brought about its fall, the hall was occupied by Robert

King, the first Bishop of Oxford. In 1560 it was conveyed to St. John's College, and was opened as St. John Baptist's Hall. In 1714 it was made over to Sir Thomas Cooke, and refounded as Worcester College. The Provost's lodgings occupy the quarters formerly allotted to the monks of Abingdon and Gloucester Abbeys. The most interesting part of the college is the cottage-like row of tenements forming the south side of the quadrangle. On some of these lodgings may still be seen the arms or rebuses of patrons or monasteries: (1) *A mitre over a comb and tun with the letter W*, seemingly the rebus of W. Compton. The same rebus appears in the east window of the Lady Chapel, Gloucester. (2) *Three cups surmounted by a coronet*, probably for Botiler. (3) *A griffin segreant*, Chertsey, and (4) *A Latin cross*, perhaps Norwich.

The lodgings in the middle of the five were appropriated to Winchcombe and Ramsey.

From Worcester College the way lay to the castle. The only parts which remain of the castle at Oxford, founded by Robert d'Oyly in the reign of William Rufus, are the tower, an ancient well-room of the time.

TOWER OF OXFORD CASTLE.

of Henry II, and a crypt or chapel. The mound was probably erected by Aethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians and daughter of King Alfred. If so, it was contemporary with the castle mound she made at Gloucester, destroyed within the memory of some still living. Matilda, mother of Henry II, was besieged in Oxford Castle by Stephen, and only escaped to Wallingford by dressing in white and so passing undiscovered across the snow and ice with which the land and rivers were at that time covered. The castle had four towers, but three of them were destroyed by Colonel Ingoldsby in 1649.

And there ended what will probably be regarded for some time to come as the most memorable of our meetings, not only on account of the large number of members who attended it, the excellence of the arrangements, and the sustained interest which marked it, but chiefly on account of the place in which it was held, and the fact that the Vice-Chancellor of the University was our President. For not a few of us perhaps there had existed a dream that some day we might hold our annual meeting at Oxford, but that the dream should be realised with the Vice-Chancellor at our head would have been beyond the hopes of any of us. Yet so it has been, and the privilege implies a duty. We sojourned for a few days with those who rank among the master-builders of the science of true history, while we are but as the day labourers and hodmen; yet unless the foundations are well and truly laid stone by stone the higher courses will be insecure; it is as needful for the member of a local society that his work shall be absolutely accurate as it is for the Regius Professor of History.

Our best thanks are due first of all to the Vice-Chancellor for the high honour which he conferred upon our Society by accepting the office of President; then to Professor and Mrs. Oman for welcoming us so kindly and hospitably in the noble hall of All Souls', and to the Rev. W. H. Hutton for receiving us so cordially at St. John's; to Mr. F. Madan and to Mr. T. Gambier Parry, our most helpful local secretary, for the excellence of the arrangements which they made; also to members of the various Houses which we visited for their kindly and courteous guidance, and to Mr. James Parker for his guidance at St. Peter's-in-the-East and New College, and on Thursday morning. Further, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Parker for allowing us to use the blocks of the many pictures with which this account of our visit to Oxford is illustrated, and to Mr. E. C. Alden for the most interesting picture of William of Wykeham's Pastoral Staff. Lastly, our thanks are due to the clergy of the churches and the owners of the houses which we visited in the course of the two drives, which formed so pleasant a feature of our visit, for the hearty welcome with which we were everywhere received.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me, before all else, say how great a pleasure it is to me to welcome you, citizens and denizens of my own native city and county, to Oxford, and how true and rare an honour I count it, to be your President. I only wish I could do more to deserve the honour. When my good friend, the President of your Council, Canon Bazeley, first asked me to undertake the duty, I felt the compliment very deeply, but I hesitated to accept, knowing only too well by experience how little time I could find to serve you. I began to make excuse. I began to say "No." But my very old friends, Professor Oman and Mr. Madan, would take no excuse and no refusal. They pressed upon me the consideration that you would specially like to have the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University as your President. That argument decided me. It is true that the sands of my term of office are fast running out. This is almost the very last function of the kind I shall be able to discharge. However, I am for the time still Vice-Chancellor, and I felt that if you wished that when a compatriot, a Bristol and Gloucestershire man, filled this office he should become your President, I could not hold out against such a wish.

For I am indeed a Bristol and Gloucestershire man. I have just looked up the entry of my admission as a Fellow of Magdalen College. I well remember the pride and pleasure with which I supplied the facts to the Notary Public for his entry. It ran as follows: "Thomas Herbert Warren. Born in Bristol in the County of Gloucester and in the Diocese of Bristol and Gloucester." Bristol is indeed, I am aware, a

county in itself, a county within a county, and so constituted by no newfangled creation, but by a grant of Edward III, the first of the kind made to any town.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have always felt glad that I belonged to this ancient city and historic county and interesting double diocese.

My earliest clear and continuous recollections are of a delightful nursery high up in an old stately house standing itself on one of the many hills of that city of hills, on the slopes of the little eminence on which St. Brendan had his shrine, mark of the connexion with Ireland and Celtic Christianity; of a wide view over the many-roofed, many chimneyed, many-towered city, on to the hills, the "goodly hills" of Somerset, over the winding river thronged with tall masts, and ever sending up a sound I loved—the unceasing clangour of its dockyards. Close beneath was the old Cathedral, the Abbey of St. Augustine; in the middle distance St. Mary Redcliffe or St. Stephen's, and St. Werburgh still standing where it ought; and farther away the hills of Lansdowne and Dundry, the latter crowned with a characteristic Somersetshire tower.

It is much to have such early associations as these. Not for a good deal would I forgo these memories. Then, as I grew older, I came to know these objects at first hand and at close quarters—the Cathedral, with the tombs of the Fitzhardinges; the adjoining archways of the old Abbey, over one of which my father in his bachelor days used to lodge; St. Mary Redcliffe, with its associations of Canynges and Chatterton; St. John's, with its archway and hour-glass; St. Stephen's singularly graceful, turreted and battlemented campanile, and the fan-tracery of its porch; the leaning tower of the Temple Church and its chivalrous associations; the Mayor's Chapel, the Red Lodge and Christmas Steps and the Shrine of the Three Kings of Cologne; the Royal Fort, Colston's School and Almshouse, Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, the Red Maids; St. Werburgh of mysterious Saxon name;

St. Augustine's Back and the Welsh Back, where Breton and Cambrian I was told met and conversed in their common mother tongue; the old Dutch House with its cannon; the Mint and St. Peter's Church; King Street and Queen Square and the Hot Wells. How different it would have been to have been brought up in Swindon or Leamington, or even in some town, old and yet still mainly of modern growth, like Birmingham or Liverpool.

Then, as the days passed by, I went farther afield to Westbury and Henbury, to Leigh Court and Blaize Castle, to Sea Mills and Shirehampton and Penpole, to Cadbury Camp and Portishead and Clevedon, to Almondsbury and the Passage, and later still in student vacations to Glastonbury, Wells and Cleeve, to Berkeley Castle and Lydney and Gloucester and Tewkesbury, to Caldecott and Chepstow.

It is delightful to be reminded of all this by your presence; to be reminded too of old names and old friends. Some are names of the past—Bishop Clifford and Mr. John Reynolds; those two notable librarians, John Taylor and John F. Nicholls; Thomas Kerslake, Colonel Bramble, Mr. Parr—they come back to me to-day. But some are brought back as more than names. I see many on your list; I see some here. May I say I see with special pleasure the name and the presence of Mr. Tuckett.

Perhaps I may be allowed to include a special welcome to those who are also members of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, especially to Mr. A. E. Hudd, its indefatigable and learned secretary, with whom thirty years ago I made many a pleasant and unforgettable excursion.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, Oxford and Bristol, have long been connected. I think a very interesting monograph might be written on their connection. I wish, indeed, I had had time to work out the latter theme fully myself for presentation to you to-day; but I have not. All I can do is to make a few scattered suggestions, to trace a few outlines which I might

hope to fill in hereafter, unless indeed it is done better by a another hand.

Both Oxford and Bristol no doubt are old settlements; the names of both appear to be English, though the meaning of both is disputed; but neither are ancient as cities. Bristol is less old than Bath or Gloucester, Oxford than Dorchester or Silchester or perhaps Bicester.

Both cities are in a measure, and owe their importance to the fact, meeting-places of the ancient kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex. I like to think that the significance of the Mercian saints was first worked out by a Bristol man whom I remember, that fine old antiquary and bookseller, Mr. Kerslake. In Oxford we find St. Mildred, but above all St. Frideswide. In Bristol their presence is marked by St. Werburgh.

Both had their *quatres voies* or Carfax, though the name was not kept at Bristol as it was at Oxford. Both had their *port* in the same sense of *porta*, not *portus*, preserved in the name Port Meadow and St. Mary-le-Port, for this has nothing to do with the harbour, though Bristol was, of course, from earliest days what the poet so beautifully calls her, "The haven under the hill," and her arms are the ship issuing from the castle.

Both had their English reeve, or port-reeve, "Gerefa," before, Mr. Mayor of Oxford! they had their mayor after the French model. Both became cities at the same time and in the same way, owing their Cathedral and their first bishop to Henry VIII.

It is natural that two cities and two counties so near in history and geography should owe much to each other. In some ways it is surprising that they do not owe more. Oxford is, or was, the University of the south and west, as Cambridge is, or was, the University of the east and north—the University of Wessex, of Devon and Cornwall, of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, of the Welsh Marches, and of Wales itself. Many of her colleges on the face of things point to

this: New College, the College of St. Mary Winton in Oxford; Exeter, the College of Devon and Cornwall; Wadham, the College of Somerset; Jesus and Worcester and Pembroke, the Colleges of Wales and Gloucestershire. She is the University of Sidney, who came because his father was President of Wales, and lived at Ludlow, of Hakluyt, of Raleigh and of Blake. She owes her great library to men connected by name or family with the West Country, to Bishop Cobham, of Worcester; to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; and above all to Sir Thomas Bodley, whose wife, Ann Ball, was the widow of a rich Bristol merchant. Perhaps I may be pardoned for speaking of the present staff of the Bodleian. I am not sure to what county or city the distinguished librarian owes his birth. I know he is partly a Celt and familiar with Celtic lore; but I do know, and you know, the *provenance* of Mr. Falconer Madan and Mr. Gambier Parry.

Most notable in this connexion is Worcester College, which originally wore a still more characteristic and significant name, "Gloucester Hall," founded by a Gloucestershire man out of the residence of an Earl of Gloucester, and fed by Gloucester Cathedral and the Benedictine houses of Winchcombe and Evesham.

This is the earliest monastic college in Oxford, and one of the earliest of Oxford foundations. I will, however, only touch on this, for you will see it for yourself under the guidance of that best of friends and men, himself a West Country man, the Provost of Worcester, Dr. Daniel.

But the connection is closer than this. I have often thought Gloucestershire one of the most happily-situated of English counties. One peculiarity it enjoys, which has probably often been noticed before, though I have not myself seen it mentioned—it can claim both the two greatest rivers of England as its own. It can claim also the Wye and the two Avons, but that for my purpose is not so important. The head waters of the Thames lie very close

to the channel of the Severn, even if they were not united by the now little known but once famous canal.

When I was a boy and lived by the golden Severn and looked westward, I remember I dreamed of the silver Thames. In later years, living by the silver Thames and looking toward the east, I sometimes sigh for the golden Severn. I always feel a thrill as you may feel it when, starting out by the little quiet local railway, I make my way by the rich flat meadows which border the Thames, past the old-world Oxfordshire villages and towns—Ensham, Witney, Bampton—with the Berkshire hills, crowned by Farringdon clump, in the distance. Suddenly we round the end of the range, and find ourselves at Lechlade, in another county and diocese, my native land of Gloucestershire. It is an ancient highway through an old-world land from London or Colchester or Silchester or Durocina to Cirencester, to *Aquæ Solis* or *ad Abonam*, or to Gloucester or Lydney. The old story of the Silchester ring and the Lydney curse is, I believe, now doubted or discredited, but of the intercourse in Roman days between these places there need be no doubt.

And many travellers have passed in old time to and from Oxford and Gloucester and Oxford and Bristol. I naturally perhaps think first of those who have been connected with my own college.

One of the most interesting links between Oxford and Bristol, and in particular between my own college and Bristol, is William of Worcester, or Wycestre. The name he preferred himself seems to have been neither Worcester nor Wyrcestre, but Botoner, that of his mother. He was the son of a Bristol burgess. He went to Oxford in 1431, first to Hart Hall and then to Balliol. A manuscript given by him is still to be seen in the Balliol Library, and another given by him to our founder is in the Magdalen Library. How did it come there ? The story is long and curious. He became secretary to a very famous man, Sir John Fastolf, at Caister Castle. His positon was dubious.

"I stick it out among beggars like a serf at the plough," so he wrote in Latin to John Paston. Perhaps he was too fond of literature, for when he was in business in London he set himself to learn French with a Lombard called Karoll Giles, if that was his real name. When a fellow-servant asked him about business, he said "he would be as glad and as feign of a good boke of French or of poetre as my maister Fastolf would be to purchase a fair manoir. And truly I understand he took not to be comyned withal in such matters."

After Fastolf's death Botoner was involved in the famous litigation as to that great man's property. This brought him into relation with William of Waynflete. He assisted Waynflete in his design for promoting Magdalen College, and was repaid by lands in Southwark and £100. Oddly for a Bristol man, he tried to persuade Waynflete to found his college at Cambridge, as being nearer Norfolk and Suffolk. He seems to have lived much in Norfolk, but went often to visit his own property in Bristol. His *Itinerarium* is a very interesting work, describing how he travelled from Norwich to Southampton and Bristol, then visited Tintern Abbey and St. Michael's Mount before he returned to London. He also tells how he rode out to Shirehampton to recover two books, the *Ethics* and the *Ladies' Mirror*, which he had lent to a friend. The list of his works is a long one. One work, the *De Sacramentis Dedicationis*, he presented to Waynflete, who handed it on to his college.

I should like to claim too as a member of my own college—he can certainly be claimed for Oxford—that pioneer of Greek learning, Grocyn, who was educated at Bristol.

The Civil War naturally brought into prominence the connexion between all these regions and places. Gloucester, Worcester, Bristol, Oxford, all in turn became conspicuous. There was much going and coming between them in those days.

Bristol was not the least important, captured by Essex

the Governor of Gloucester, then held by Nathaniel Fiennes, recaptured by Prince Rupert and Sir Ralph Hopton, though defended by Blake himself amongst others, then captured yet again by Fairfax, the same leader who a little later made the memorable entry into Oxford, and made himself yet more memorable and commendable to the historian by his preservation of the Bodleian Library.

Bristol has had an unenviable repute for the violence of its riots. Perhaps, as it is an ancient seaport, the *nautikos ochlos* and the *paraleis* had learned to wage war with the hill men and with each other. Anyhow, so it was.

I regret to say that some of its chief disturbances have been connected with members of my college.

Harry Sacheverell was a "fine figure of a man," and probably vain of his appearance. He was the undergraduate friend, so it often happens, of one from whom no doubt he differed much and was to differ more, Joseph Addison. The earliest of Addison's works, a review of the British poets, is dedicated to "his dear H. S."

Sacheverell was apparently a turbulent undergraduate. He got into disgrace for defying the dean; but by and by he became dean himself. His rise to fame, if it ought not rather to be called notoriety, seems to have been half accidental. His great sermon which set London aflame, the sermon on "Perils from false brethren," seems to have been only an old Oxford discourse touched up for the occasion; but it struck the humour or passion of the moment, and as Disraeli said, in the world of affairs "the opportune is often better than the excellent."

The Whigs were foolish enough to make him a martyr. The Tories found, rather than made him, a hero. Addison's government fell, and his "dear H. S." made a triumphal progress through Oxford and England to the living which had been given him in Shropshire. His portrait you shall presently see in Magdalen.

When King George I came to the throne the "Cheverel-

lites" raised a great disturbance in Bristol, and a special commission had to be sent to try them.

The result was the passing of the Riot Act. How far that Act was successful may be doubted. Only four years later the Kingswood colliers came into the city and raised a bread riot, which was with difficulty appeased. At the end of the century a still more serious outbreak took place in the Bristol Bridge Riots. But most serious of all and within living memory were the Reform Riots of 1831. The Recorder of Bristol was an Oxford man, a member of my college, Sir Charles Wetherell, who was born in 1770 and died in 1846. He is said to have been, though a gentleman, pedantic and slovenly and a buffoon. The only "lucid interval," it was said, in his speech on the Catholic Relief Bill was "that between his waistcoat and his breeches." He only died in 1846, and then by accident. Had he lived to see the years of Martin Joseph Routh I might myself have seen him. He and his speech were, I am afraid, the occasion, if not the cause of, the Bristol outbreak. I will not relate the sad story well known to you all.

The sympathy between Oxford and Bristol was shown, and the popular opinion in Oxford was signalised, by the scrawling on the wall of All Souls College in "Cat Street" of the words, "No Bristol Murders."

They were pointed out to me by an old Fellow of Magdalen soon after I myself became a Fellow. They were even then faint and hard to read. In stormy weather they emerged more clearly. I do not know whether they can still be read. Professor Oman doubtless can tell us.

A little later Bristol sent to Oxford one of the most meritorious, if not most brilliant, of English men of letters. Robert Southey, the son of a linen draper in Wine Street, came to Balliol toward the end of the last century. He was then full of the spirit of reform, republicanism and Pantisocracy, though he was afterwards to become poet laureate and the most orthodox of men. He showed his radicalism as

an undergraduate by wearing his own hair instead of a wig.

Both Southey and Coleridge married Bristolians. Both were largely aided by a Bristol publisher, and so was a greater still, William Wordsworth.

"O Amos Cottle, Phœbus! what a name!"

But let Byron gibe, as Pope had done before, at Bristol and its worthies. Without this generous if somewhat vain man, Phœbus, and all of us, had missed many a worthy strain, notably the "Lyrical Ballads" and the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner."

Many, of course, of the Bishops of Bristol and of Gloucester have been Oxford men, and some of them Magdalen men. The most notable of these latter have been Bishop Willcocks and Archbishop Boulter. Among the Oxford Bishops of Bristol we may note the first of all, Paul Bush, and, I suppose the greatest of all, Joseph Butler, also Bishops Smallridge and Skinner.

Bush was a very gifted man, well versed not only in divinity but in physic, not only a "grand orator" but a "good poet." Though appointed by Henry VIII, and something of a reformer, he clung to much of the old faith, but broke from its custom in one very important and, for his bishopric, fatal point—he married a wife.

Joseph Willcocks, born in 1673, was the son of a Bristol physician. He was sent, however, to Merchant Taylors' School, and then naturally proceeded to St. John's. Thence like others he was conveyed by a demyship to Magdalen, where he took his degree and was ordained. Then he became chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon, and then chaplain to George I and preceptor to the royal princesses. This brought him into note and notice. He was made successively Prebendary of Westminster, Bishop of Gloucester, and Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester. He might have had the Archbishopric of York, but declined. His portrait you shall see in the Hall at Magdalen. His only son, who

went to Westminster and Christ Church, was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and Pope Clement XIII styled him "The blessed heretick."

A link between Magdalen and Gloucestershire is the living of Slymbridge, a quiet, open village, with a specially pleasant rectory and rectory garden, and a stately spire soaring from the river flat.

A story many times repeated and elaborated tells that the Rector of Slymbridge pays £10 a year to provide a Mass for the soul of King Henry VII, and that the well-known May morning singing on Magdalen Tower represents this Mass.

Mr. Wilson, the accurate, the perhaps too accurate (?), historian of the college, has dealt very faithfully with this legend.

But the living remains in the gift of the college, and the £10 is paid annually. Oddly enough, if I may digress, it was on the first occasion that I went up the tower as Fellow of Magdalen on May Day that I made the acquaintance of the rector. It was many years before I visited Slymbridge, but "I have been there," as the child's poem says, and "still would go."

No place probably was more influenced by that earlier "Oxford Movement," the Methodist movement, than was Bristol. And one of its chief leaders was in a sense both a Bristol and a Gloucester man. George Whitefield's father, the son of a Bristolian, kept the Bell Inn at Gloucester, afterwards oddly enough kept by the father of Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, another member of Magdalen. George Whitefield himself was educated at the Crypt School in Gloucester, and went thence to Pembroke College at Oxford. When he became ordained he preached his first sermon at St. Mary-le-Crypt. His first sermon of another kind, his first out-of-door sermon, was preached by him to the colliers at Kingswood. This "field-preaching," as it was called, had a curious effect at my college. It led to the abandon-

ment for many years of the preaching of the open-air sermon from the stone pulpit in St. John's Quadrangle, at Magdalen, on St. John Baptist's Day, the reason being that Whitefield cited the college practice as a justification for his own. The Magdalen sermon was, I am glad to say, revived by the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Lang, about sixteen years ago.

The story of the Beddoes, father and son, is a melancholy one. Both were members of Pembroke College. The father was Chemistry Reader at Oxford, and attracted the largest class which had been known in science, so it was said, since the thirteenth century. The reason of his leaving Oxford was a singular one. His sympathies with the French Revolution were so strong that he found it advisable to resign his Readership. He went to France, became acquainted with Lavoisier, but practical experience disgusted him with the French revolutionists on their own soil, and he returned to England and settled in Bristol, where he made a great reputation both by his own work and by the "Pneumatic Institution" which he established, and to which he attracted Sir Humphry Davy. His house at Clifton was the centre of a brilliant circle. He went to London and had a large practice, but died prematurely. "From Beddoes," said Southey, when he heard of his death, "I hoped for more good for the human race than from any other individual." His son's career was even more brief, more brilliant and more sad. When his father died he was left to the guardianship of his friend Dr. Gilbert, then President of the Royal Society, also a Pembroke man. He was sent to Bath Grammar School and the Charterhouse, and then at seventeen to Oxford. Even as a schoolboy he had begun writing poetry, and as an undergraduate he published *The Bride's Tragedy*. There is not time to describe his career. After taking his degree at Oxford he went to Göttingen and Wurzburg. He gradually became more and more Bohemian, fell into ill health, both of mind and body, the last leading to his losing

a leg by amputation, and finally put an end to his own life at the age of forty-six, leaving letters which Swinburne described as brilliant, and poems some of which are certainly memorable.

Aother genius prematurely cut off also connects Oxford with Bristol, the "Irish Crichton," the youthful prodigy John Henderson, son of a schoolmaster at Hanham. His funeral sermon, preached by a member of my own college, both at Kingswood and at the Temple Church, a certain Mr. Agutter, his "sincere and respectable friend," who accompanied the corpse from Oxford, describes him in the most appreciative terms. You may see his portrait in Pembroke, and read his extraordinary story, too long to relate here, told by my friend Mr. Douglas Macleane in his admirable history of his college.

Joseph Cottle, his pupil, wrote and published his *In Memoriam.*

Beddoes' "singular brother," to use the phrase suggested by the famous "Henry of Exeter," who thus distinguished between himself and Dr. Philpott, the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Beddoe, still I rejoice to think living, brings us into modern times and living memory.

The connection between Oxford and Bristol has naturally strengthened as on the one hand Oxford has grown larger and more various, more open to and representative of all the learned and intellectual interests of the country, and as on the other hand the intellectual and scholastic life of Bristol has become more vigorous in its current and more copious in its volume.

A chapter should be written, it would be a chequered but not an inglorious one, on the schools of Bristol. Naturally they have been links with Oxford. The history of the Grammar School, the senior of her schools, would be not the least exciting. I used to be told that it had at one time one master and one pupil, his own son, who held the only exhibition. Its revival from this stagnation was the work of a remarkable Oxford man, Dr. Caldicott, of Jesus College.

He associated with him several other Oxford men of mark, notably Mr. Openshaw, of Brasenose. They sent many distinguished pupils to Cambridge, but more to Oxford. Among them I may perhaps mention some brilliant and useful contemporaries of my own, some who have been my companions and colleagues through my academic life—the Warden of Merton, Mr. Gerrans, of Worcester, Mr. Sampson, of Brasenose, and Canon Brightman, Fellow of my own college, one of the most learned of living liturgiologists.

All the head masters of the Bristol Grammar School in my time have been Oxford men. None bids fair to be more successful than the present chief, who revives in his person the ancient connexion between Bristol and St. John's College.

Side by side with the revival of the Grammar School, and in healthy rivalry with it, went the creation and the growth of the College. There have been other colleges which have done good work which ought to be recorded, notably the Bishop's College. Here was reared Sir George Stokes.

But the College for me, of course, is Clifton College. Of the service of this school to Oxford it is not for me to speak as the scripture says "particularly." Let me note that through Oxford it has given to England two of her most charming and healthy living writers, typical West Country and typical Public School men, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. Henry Newbolt.

Here again the guiding influence came from Oxford. Of the five actual head masters of Clifton, all of whom I rejoice to think are still living, four are Oxford men. But more than this, of the literary influences which have moulded Cliftonians the chief have been T. E. Brown, J. A. Symonds, Irwin and Fowler, all Oxonians.

Nor would I here forget to say a word about my old friend Mr. A. T. Martin, who has done so much for your Society and for the study of the Roman antiquities around Bristol and Gloucester, and especially at Caerwent.

Brown, though a Manxman by birth, was also in a sense a Gloucester man. It was at the Crypt School that he made his own *début*, and discovered and fostered the genius of W. E. Henley. He sleeps not in his own sea-girt isle, but in that quiet, quaint little eighteenth-century resting-place, the churchyard on Redland Green.

Of the Symonds family I might say much. There are no links more shining in the chain which binds Oxford to Bristol than those which their family has forged.

Out of Clifton College, its council, and its head master to a certain extent grew the University College. It was at any rate largely the work of the Bishop of Hereford. But he again imported an additional measure of Oxford influence. Balliol and New College, introduced by Jowett, who again had been brought to Bristol by the elder and the younger Addington Symonds, were its nursing mothers in its early struggling days.

Now, we rejoice to think, it stands firm in its own strength and promise, the youngest accession to that comity of English Universities which make us all, both individually and separately, stronger.

Time would fail to tell of other families and interests which have united us, the Prichards, the Pococks and others.

Memories of my youth and early manhood are the strange bizarre figure of Francis Newman, whom I was taken to hear lecture as a lad, and the shy, self-effacing enigma "Sammy Wayte," President of Trinity, who after being a courageous leader in Oxford politics for some thirty years, suddenly chose the *fallentis semita vitæ*, and like the scholar-gipsy "came to Oxford and his friends no more."

Among living leaders I rejoice to think that the Bishop of Gloucester is an Oxford man, and that the Archdeacon of Bristol is also connected with my own college and with Gloucester.

But I am becoming garrulous and personal. I am for-

getting the past in the present. I must draw to a close. This only I would say, that in the words of that great Oxford historian, who united all our interests, Gloucester, Somerset, Oxford, the Church, the State; in the words of Professor Freeman, "History is dead politics, politics are living history." The past is to be interpreted by, while it also interprets, the present, the present is on its way to become the past. Both past and present aid us to forecast the future.

As the centuries run on, the old family ties, the ties of geography and race, of county and city and clan, reproduce themselves again and again. There is no place, I think, where we see this more than here in Oxford, where it is our duty and privilege to watch, and record, and try to read, the ages.

"*Mêmes causes, mêmes effets*"—we cannot doubt that the influences which have drawn Oxford and Bristol, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire together, for shall we say seven centuries, will, with increased means of communication, whatever sundering influences or impediments may arise, continue to operate.

May these counties, with their cities, sharing something of the same skies and soil, watered by the same rain and rivers, as they march together physically, march together in the things of the mind and the soul, for the good of each other, for the good of realm and empire, for the Glory of God and the well-being of man!

THE FOUNDERS' BOOK OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

A lecture delivered in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, on August 3rd, 1910.

By the Rev. C. H. BICKERTON HUDSON, M.A.

I shall not tax your patience, I hope, very long by what I have to say about this book. The greater part of its contents is familiar to all students of Tewkesbury history from the two sixteenth-century MS. copies of it in the British Museum, and to all lovers of the old abbey from the use which was made of these MSS. by the late Mr. J. H. Blunt in his fascinating little volume, *Tewkesbury Abbey and its Associations.* What I have to say, then, this evening relates chiefly to the origin and the history of the book itself. There are perhaps not many books of so respectable an antiquity which can give so complete an account of themselves and their whereabouts throughout a period of 450 years. The fly-leaf and the first page of the volume give us the record of its varying fortunes—where it lived within the precincts of its monastic birthplace, and who have been its guardians since.

All visitors to Tewkesbury will remember the ancient treasury of the church (now used as a vestry), upon the south side of the choir, with its massive door, lined with irregular plates of iron, said to be formed from fragments of armour and weapons picked up upon the battlefield beyond. From the shelf-mark upon folio 1 of the MS. we learn that that was its abode. It was to be found in the treasury of the abbey church, and was the sixth book upon the first shelf. That is plain enough now, but the shelf-mark was puzzling—"Chym:e:—6. Li:"—until the Rev. H. M. Bannister, our

greatest authority upon western liturgical MSS., helped to solve the riddle. He had found, I think in the Chapter Library at Chartres, books with the press-mark "Cimiliarchium" (of which word our "Chym" is evidently an abbreviation), indicating that they were kept in the cathedral *treasury*. The use of the Greek word to distinguish the treasury at Tewkesbury suggests that sparks from the "Greek fire" of the "New Learning" were kindling in the remote cloister of the Tewkesbury Benedictines. The plundering hands which executed the Royal Commission in 1540 had as little regard for classic revivals as they had for the antiquities of Tewkesbury, and a bold hand of the sixteenth century has written roughly across the top of the page, "First Sh(elf). *A Book of Armes written in velam.*" But they have left us an interesting confirmation of Mr. Bannister's reading of the monastic press-mark; for in the inventory of the abbey goods, printed among the documents at the end of Pocock's edition of Burnet, they relate that "Records and evidences belonging to the said monastery *remain in the Treasury* there under the custody of John Whittington, Knight, the key thereof delivered to Richard Poulet, receiver."[1]

From the treasury of the conventual church at Tewkesbury the volume passed into the hands of Sir Edward Grevell, of Milcote, near Stratford-on-Avon, a son of that Gloucestershire family whose ancient home is still to be seen at Chipping Campden, and an ancestor of the present Earl of Warwick. His name is written in a large hand at the top of the fly-leaf, the name of the Tewkesbury monk who styles himself the author of the book having been erased to make way for it. Sir Edward Greville's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Spencer, of Hodnell, co. Warwick, and it is therefore easy to understand how the book passed into the possession of its next owner, Robert, Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, co. Warwick, whose name

[1] *History of the Reformation*, iv. 266.

is recorded on the fly-leaf. Camden speaks of this, the first Lord Spencer, as "a worthy encourager of virtue and learning," while of his ready wit we have the well-known story that when he was speaking once in Parliament of the valour of their English forefathers in the defence of liberty, the Earl of Arundel let fall some contemptuous remark upon the origin of the Spencers, to which Lord Spencer replied: "If my ancestors, my lord, were keeping sheep, yours were then plotting treason!" The Tewkesbury book, then, entered Lord Spencer's collection of books either at Wormleighton or at Althorp, and thus became one of the earliest volumes of what was afterwards known as the Great Sunderland Library, a collection of treasures of such value that when it was sold at Blenheim some thirty years ago one London bookseller alone made purchases to the value of over £33,000. But the MS. was not destined to remain among the Althorp books. In the mind of the first Lord Spencer the literary tastes of the age of Elizabeth were blended with the chivalrous instincts of an earlier day. A touching note at the foot of the fly-leaf of the Tewkesbury chronicle records that, in a conflict between them, the finer moral quality prevailed. In the year 1586 died Henry Nevill, Lord of Abergavenny, leaving an only child, Mary, who twelve years before her father's death had become the second wife of Sir Thomas Fane, of Kent. In right of his wife, "by whom it hath pleased God to bless him with many fair children," Sir Thomas laid claim to the ancient barony of Avergavenny. This somewhat celebrated peerage case was decided in favour of the heir male, a cousin of the late lord; but by way of consolation to his heiress, a patent was issued conferring upon Mary Fane and her children the barony of *Le Despencer* in her own right. Mary Nevill, the Lady Fane, was lineally descended from the Despencers of Gloucester and Winchester, being the great-great-great-grandaughter of the last of the Despencers, our Countess Isabel, the founder of "the Warwick Chantry" (so called),

Anno dni M cccc [illegible] in mercia hugo magnus dnus
[illegible] et patronus [illegible] cum a predicto [illegible]
[illegible] richard de [illegible] in [illegible] suo [illegible]
in capella [illegible] virginis [illegible] et [illegible] anno
dni M cccc [illegible] et [illegible] in eodem [illegible] suo [illegible]

HAYWARDUS MEAW AND HIS WIFE ALGIVA, FOUNDERS OF THE MONASTERY AT CRANBORNE AND PATRONS OF TEWKESBURY

by her former marriage with Richard Beauchamp, Lord of Bergavenny and Worcester. And we are thus prepared to read the interesting note upon the fly-leaf, which tells us that "The Right Honorable the Lady Mary, Baroness Le Despencer, only daughter and heir of Henry Nevill, Lord of Abergavenny, is the owner of this book, the gift of Robert, Lord Spencer, Baron of Wormleighton, whose children unite with him in affectionate glad approval." The inscription is evidently in Lord Spencer's own hand. We can appreciate the delicate feeling which prompted the gift. We can picture the pleasure with which the Lady Mary received it. *And* we can imagine the discomfort with which the Elizabethan heralds, who had attempted to derive the later Spencers from the ancient baronial Despencers, would have beheld the head of that house making over this precious record of his reputed ancestors to the newly-created baroness, herself a Nevill, the descendant of the ancient Despencers *upon the distaff side.*[1]

But be that as it may, the Tewkesbury book passed into the possession of the Lady Mary Fane, Baroness Le Despencer, and from her to her eldest son Francis, created Earl of Westmorland in 1623, and with his descendants, the Earls of Westmorland, it remained down to our own day.

The book itself bears no title. Of the two copies in the British Museum, one is entitled "Chronica de fundatoribus et de fundatione Ecclesiæ Theokusburiæ." The other copy is "Registrum Theokusburiæ." This latter copy was formerly in the Isham Library at Lamport, Northants, and Thomas Hearne has an interesting note upon it in his *Diary* under the date [1733] "Feb: 5." The former of the two copies, from the Cotton Library (now Cleop: c. iii, in the British Museum Catalogue), has been twice printed, viz. in a very condensed form by Leland, in the *Itinerary* (vol. vi, Hearne's

[1] Dr. Round might add a note to a certain excursion of his into the archives of an illustrious Warwickshire family; see *Peerage and Family History*, p. 279.

edition, 1744), and in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vol. ii, edition 1817) in full. I may add that both these MS. copies have been slightly "edited"; one is imperfect; neither is complete. Nor do the two copies, taken together, contain all the matter to be found in the original. The Isham copy has pen-and-ink drawings of most of the figures and coats of arms in "The Founders' Book." The original MS. is written in four different hands of the latter half of the fifteenth century. Of these, two are responsible for the greater part of the text; a third, for certain notes and illustrations prefixed to it; a fourth, for an account at the end of the volume of the removal of the monks from Cranborne to Tewkesbury by Abbot Gerald, and for a list of relics. This last hand is that of the monk who describes himself as the maker of the book. Under the name of "Edward Grevell," at the top of the fly-leaf, I descried some faint traces of an erased handwriting, and by Mr. Madan's kind help I was able to recover the fact that "Joannes E\x/isham hunc librum fecit." Who was John Evesham? Probably *precentor* of the abbey, whose duty it would be to assign their tasks to the scribes of the monastic scriptorium. *Possibly* that *John Galeys* who governed the house as abbot between Abbot John Abingdon and Abbot John Strensham. "Gale" is an Evesham name to this day.

By far the greater part of the book consists of short notices of the founders and patrons of Tewkesbury Abbey and of its cells at Cranborne and Goldcliff, with their painted portraits and arms, together with the coats of the royal and noble houses to which they were allied. These latter form together a fairly large "armorial" of Mediæval England. Certain fragments of painted sculpture, preserved at the abbey, which were dug up near the high altar some years ago, are evidently parts of the originals of some of the figures which appear in the MS. These have been taken by Mr. J. H. Blunt and others to be fragments of a reredos which is supposed to have stood behind the high altar; but apart from the fact that

there is *no room* for any such structure—assuming that the high altar stands to-day at the same distance as it has always stood from the fourteenth-century screen-work at its back—is it not more likely that these figures were a part of the adornment of the sumptuous Beauchamp Chapel on the north side of the choir? My own impression is that this chapel, with its blazonry and sculpture, suggested *this book*, and that the decoration of the book was derived from the decoration of the chapel. The chapel was "The Founders' Book" *in stone*. The figures which adorn the book range from the venerable Oddo and Doddo to the "King-Maker." The earliest hand employed upon the MS. ceases abruptly when Richard Nevill is reached, and the book is continued in a later hand. It is natural to think that the pause in the chronicle was occasioned by the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses. The delay in taking up the thread again may have a very close connection. To the monks of Tewkesbury, whose fortunes so frequently brought them into contact with "high places," the mercurial loyalty of their great patron may have suggested to them that it would be wiser *to wait and see*. To a similar cause, perhaps, it is due that we are told nothing about the Battle of Tewkesbury, which is dismissed in a single sentence. This, and the fact that we also learn nothing of the "King-Maker" himself, except that he *sometimes* wore a *beard*, are the great disappointments—in a contemporary document—of "The Founders' Book." It is needless to add that the latter defect has been supplied to the full by the captivating monograph upon the great Earl of Warwick from the pen of your distinguished ex-President.

NOTE ON PLATE II.

THIS page of the MS. is specially interesting, as the leaf is missing from the Isham copy. The originals of the group represented here probably occupied the elevated platform

in the Beauchamp Chapel. The figures were probably of wood, upon a wooden floor, traces of which appear to remain upon the painted mouldings which terminate the platform eastwards.[1] The kneeling figure of herself would be suggested to the Countess Isabel by that of her grandfather, Lord Edward le Despenser, upon the roof of the Trinity Chapel on the opposite side of the choir, the greater height of her own chapel necessitating the arrangement here adopted. The presence of this sumptuous figure in its heraldic surcoat may account for the desire expressed in the Countess' will that the effigy to be set upon her own tomb in the adjacent choir should be "quite naked," *i.e.* devoid of all ornaments and robes of state.

It is likely that the figures of the Blessed Mother and Holy Child were the cause of the complete destruction of the whole group by the hands of ignorant fanatics. Note the likeness of the decorated background of the group to the stone panelling of the west wall of the chapel, above the platform.

[1] My thanks are due to the present verger at the abbey for the trouble he kindly took to enable me to examine the upper story of the chapel.

Izabella
le de lpẽler

ISABELLA LE DESPENSER. DIED A.D. 1439

THE ROMAN PAVEMENT AT THE BARTON, CIRENCESTER.

By E. C. SEWELL and ALFRED H. POWELL.

In the year 1825 this pavement was discovered at The Barton Farm, Cirencester, by some workmen who were removing a walnut tree, and who found their progress opposed by a hard surface, which proved to be a tesselated pavement. Earl Bathurst, the owner of the property on which it was found, immediately caused a suitable building to be erected over it, and consequently it has been preserved *in situ*. It forms a floor 21 feet square, and consists of a central circle, occupied by Orpheus, who is habited in a Phrygian cap, his body being covered with the tunic, fastened round the waist by a girdle. He is represented in a leaning position with the left knee elevated as a rest for the lyre. Around the central medallion is a circle devoted to birds, with the duck, goose, hen, peacock, and pheasant all represented, walking round the circle with stately strides. Then follows another and larger circle, which has been much injured by the roots of a walnut tree, which has broken up sections of the pavement and rendered them very uneven. Enough, however, is left to show that this larger circle was occupied by pictures of animals, in which the lion, panther, leopard, and tiger are spiritedly portrayed. The circle just described is bounded by a very beautiful double-twisted guilloche, which ornament is also used to form the square border of the room.

The subject of this pavement seems to have been a favourite for tessellated compositions. The one found at Withington, a great portion of which is in the British Museum, represents the same story; but the most elaborate specimen is the one at Woodchester, which consists of a series of

circles for the centre, around which the beasts are marching with the same stately tread as observed of those in the Barton pavement.

The evidence of art afforded by this pavement is striking, the drawings of the beasts being exceedingly fine, while those of the birds are equally admirable.

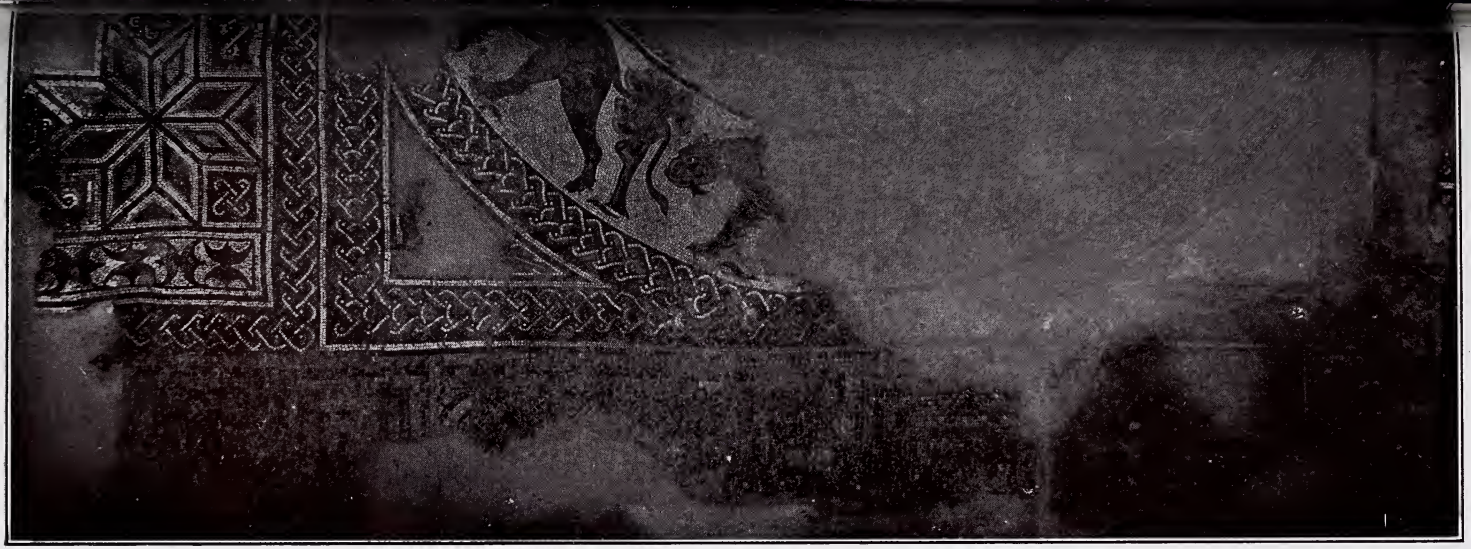
For many years past it has been noticed that the surface of the pavement has been getting more and more uneven, but no practical suggestion for restoration has been submitted until Mr. Alfred H. Powell (a member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, who was engaged in supervising work at the parish church) expressed his opinion that with care the payment could be saved by a process of underpinning. After carefully explaining to Earl Bathurst the method he proposed to adopt, and supplying proof that no injury would result to the pavement therefrom, but rather benefit, Mr. Powell was instructed to carry out the work of restoration.

Appended is his report compiled at my request expressly for the *Transactions* of the Society. From this it will be seen that during the work an exceedingly interesting discovery was made of a complete skeleton of a man *underneath the pavement.* Such a position would, of course, be a most unusual one for a Roman burial, and it is conjectured that the interment must have been carried out before the builders of the Roman house laid down the pavement of the room. If this is so, then the Roman workmen must have laid their bed of concrete for the pavement only 9 ins. above the remains of the man whose skeleton has just been discovered.

I venture to think that so interesting a discovery deserves to be recorded in our *Transactions.*

EDWARD C. SEWELL,
Hon. Local Secretary.

Cirencester,
October 1*st*, 1910.



PHOTOGRAPH BY W. DENNIS MOSS.

The centre of this illustration is arranged to avoid a crease through the principal part of the Pavement.

ment at Cirencester, 1910.

Repair of Roman Tessellated Pavement at The Barton, Cirencester.

This work was begun in August, 1909, and completed by the end of the year, under my personal supervision. The suggestion of saving this valuable mosaic originated with a member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and in accordance with the usual practice of that Society, it was proposed to do this without disturbing the existing work. The scheme, which was roughly to support the entire tesselated floor on stone slabs, these in turn resting upon narrow walls of brickwork built up from the gravel at intervals of 2 or 3 ft., and which will be described in detail below, was submitted to Earl Bathurst, the owner, who generously assented to the work being undertaken at once, and defrayed the entire cost.

The pavement is protected by a chamber erected over it in the year of its discovery by Henry Earl Bathurst (1826). It seems that of this chamber two of the walls may have been already standing, viz. the north and west walls, these being built of "rubble walling" and 20 ins. thick, while the south and east walls are of wrought ashlar, 8 ins. thick. The chamber is plastered inside, and has a roof of local timber not uninteresting in its construction.

The south and east walls have windows of a uniform pattern; the north and west walls have no openings; the entrance door is in the centre of the east wall.

The measurement of the chamber inside the walls is 20 ft. by 21 ft. 6 in. The surface of the pavement is bent and broken, and nowhere is it smooth or level, the ground upon which it rested having sunk irregularly throughout into hollows, which in some cases are small pockets, and at all of these bends and irregularities the stones were loose and the joints open.

To lift the pavement in sections, in order to make good

the foundations, seemed a hazardous process, especially as some of the worst "pockets" occurred where the work was finest, and an accident would have been most deplorable; also in the lifting process it is inevitable that some stones fall from the canvas with small chance of going back into the same spaces that they came from. So it was decided to avoid all lifting of the tesseræ by undermining and repairing from below the faulty foundations.

To do this it was necessary to suspend the pavement, a section at a time, in advance of the excavation work. For this two pieces of hoop iron, 3 in. long crossed, with a wire 3 in. long, rising from the crossing and ending in a loop, formed the necessary attachment. A sufficient number of these (about thirty to a square yard) were laid on the pavement to be underpinned, and two thicknesses of very coarse-mesh canvas passed over them and glued with very hot glue from above, the glue readily soaking through the coarse canvas to the surface of the tesseræ. Thus the hoop-iron crosses were below the canvas and the wire loops projecting above. Two timber trusses of the whole span of the chamber were laid upon ledges bolted to the north and south walls, with a space of some 2 ft. between the trusses and the pavement. These trusses were so arranged as to be slid along the ledges as the work proceeded from east to west. Next, between the two trusses (3 ft. apart), a number of pieces of wood—little joists, as it were—3 ft. long were laid, and from these depended wires hooked at their lower ends, and into each attaching loop on the pavement as above described passed a hook from these little joists. When the glue was hard this arrangement proved an entirely satisfactory way of hanging the tesseræ without in any way disturbing them.

Having thus made fast the tesseræ with the glue hard and the wires taut, excavation was started in the north-east corner, where no tesseræ remained. Here a pit was sunk about 4 ft. square and the same deep, from which to begin

tunnelling southwards, in a line immediately below the two trusses and the 3-ft. width of suspended pavement.

The section of the soil revealed by this first digging was as follows :—

(*a*) The tesseræ, in this spot represented by the cement mending.

(*b*) Three inches of fine concrete, or mortar, in places still hard.

(*c*) Three inches of soil, mixed with sand, or grains of mortar and roots (fibrous).

(*d*) Twelve inches of lime concrete made with local gravel.

(*e*) Twenty inches of rough flat stones laid sloping against each other (herringbonewise, but only one rank of them).

NOTE.—Fuller, in his "Account of the Parish Church," notices that there was a herring bone foundation of this kind to the west of the archway leading into the Lady Chapel and St. Catherine's Chapel.

From the opening thus made a tunnel was driven southwards, as above said, until the opposite or south wall was reached.

As the tunnel was cut, the earth, etc., was passed back on a trolly to the opening, and there emptied and sifted. The plan adopted by Mr. William Whiting, of Frampton Mansell, the mason who carried the work through, was to get his portion of tunnel clear by some time in the afternoon, and then lay his concrete bottom in before leaving off work, so that he could begin building upon it in the morning; then building up on either side of the tunnel the half-brick walls in cement mortar on cement concrete to the requisite height (8 in. or so beneath the tesseræ), stone slabs about 3 in. thick by 15 in. wide and 2 ft. 6 in. long were laid across from wall to wall, and the space between these stone slabs and the tesseræ filled in with stone and tiles and cement mortar, pushing it close and tight up to the underside of the tesseræ. The work proceeded in this way without any hitch, except for an interval (when the water, never far below, rose to such a height as to make the work

impossible), until the end. As the first or easternmost tunnel was being cut, it was found that the rough stone foundation (*e*) above mentioned stopped at about 18 in. from the east wall, having been removed when that wall was built. At the doorway in the centre of the east wall the rough stones had not been interfered with. The foundation of this east wall also had been cut through the 12-in. bed of Roman concrete, above mentioned (*d*), suggesting that this earlier pavement, if we may so speak of it, continued eastwards beyond the present chamber.

A piece of a Roman column was also come upon in the first tunnel. It measured about 12 in. diameter, and 18 in. long, and is now in the museum. It was found 11 ft. from the north wall, and 4 ft. from the east wall of chamber, not far below the tesseræ.

A considerable number of tesseræ of various sizes and colour were continually found amongst the excavated soil.

Outside the chamber on the east 2 ft. 2 in. from the wall, and 22 in. below the surface of the pathway, a bed of black (?) cinders about an inch thick was come upon, amongst the (?) cinders a piece of iron and a piece of bone, and a fragment of brick, also a red or white and a black tessera. The blackness measured about 3 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 7 in.

The south jamb of the chamber door is built upon what seems to be the foundations of a 4-ft. wall, running across it, viz. east and west; the north face of this foundation was 10 ft. from the north wall of chamber. This foundation continues eastwards outside the chamber, and measures 3 ft. in thickness. Up to this wall foundation, *i.e.* on the north side of it, the rough stones (*e*) leant north to south, and on the south side of it they leant south to north.

Here were found two pieces of the melanogaster fungus, with its strong smell of assafœtida.

A piece of sandstone 1 in. thick, and about 10 in. by 6 in., was found lying immediately under the 3 in. of concrete

(*b*) so curiously soft as to be easily rubbed to sand by the finger.

During the excavation of the second tunnel a complete skeleton, except for a bone or two of one foot, was discovered 9 in. below the pavement—the head about half under the tesseræ, the rest of it had been under the cement mending that at previous successive times had replaced the loosened tesseræ.

The position of the skeleton was as follows:—

The head 7 ft. 4 in. from east wall, 10 ft. from north wall.

The feet 5 ft. 5 in. from east wall, and 4 ft. from north wall.

Thus it will be seen that it lay in a south-west to north-east direction. The head, crushed forward on to breast, looked north-west. The right hand lay along by the side, the left hand across over the pelvis, on which rested the iron cup-shaped object now in the museum. Close to the pelvis was a piece of iron band, thin and about 1½ in. wide, and by the skull another skull and small bones as of a child.

Here also, besides the skeleton, was found the small Romano-British pot now in the museum, mended by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, of Painswick. Photographs of the skeleton were taken by Mr. Dennis Moss, of Cirencester. The skeleton was left in position for two days, and then carefully removed on to a door packed with sawdust, in as far as possible the same position as that in which it lay on the earth, and then placed in the museum opposite the Great Western Railway, where also are the other objects found during the work. The following is a list of these:—

Romano-British pot.
Two fibulæ.
One embossed knobbed nail-head—bronze.
Two coins of fourth and fifth centuries.
Fragments of coloured plaster.
Fragments of metal.
One small piece of crystal.

A covered drain was discovered formed of large thin stones, and running obliquely north-east and south-west across the corner of the present chamber, about 3 ft. below the surface. It was covered over with large rough slabs of local stone.

Passage was left for the water in the dividing walls of the tunnels, and a sealed manhole covered with a large stone against the north wall of the chamber.

Finally, when all was finished underground, and the whole of the pavement had been packed up tight from below, the whole of the floor was gone over, and all tesseræ that could be found that were not secure were grouted with liquid cement. This was done as follows, so as to avoid getting any cement on to the surface of the stones, so fatal to the appearance of many pavements that have been removed and remounted. A few, that is three, six, ten or twenty stones, as the occasion might demand are traced, taken up and placed beside the hole they come from in their proper order ready to go back. The space they occupied is then given a sufficient bed of cement mortar, on to which the stones are then relaid projecting above the surface of the other neighbouring stones about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. according to their size. These projecting stones are then gently patted down very leisurely until they are level with the others, and it will be found then that the cement bed has welled up between them to the surface, but not over it. They are then left to set.

This plan answered so well, that apart from its general interest, it is due to Mr. Whiting to describe it as one of many ways devised by him for dealing with such little problems as arose from day to day.

Parts of the guilloche borders were also made good where gaps had occurred, and the patterning was unmistakable, removing thus the unsightly cement patches; for this work tesseræ discovered in the excavation were used. All such restoration work is marked by a

thin cement line to show where the new work begins and ends.[1]

Below is a description of the pavement as it now is after repair.

IN THE CENTRE ORPHEUS.

He is sitting, his body slightly bent, the right knee stiff, the left knee bent to support a stringed instrument like an Irish harp, upon which he is playing with his right hand. Note in his bonnet the white crosses and compare the pavement found at Lydney, where crosses occur in the patterning. These crosses are actual crosses and not stars.

Helmet and head perfect down to and including upper lip; chin gone.

A stalk with foliation occupies space on each side of head.

A broad cloak on his right of red striped with white, swung away from his right arm which is brought forward, the hand upon the strings. The right shoulder and lower parts of the upper and forearm with four fingers remain, the rest gone. The left arm and hand not visible, the waist girdled. Right knee and shin down to the ankle; the left knee, shin and foot remain.

On Orpheus's left, going up the circle, *i.e.* southwards, is a fox of which the head, tip of tail, and centre of body have gone. Outside the central ring, immediately under Orpheus, going eastwards, are, in the second ring of what may be called domestic animals, two geese. The right-hand one long-necked, crested, with striding legs and divided claws and spurs.

The left-hand one has lost head, neck, and part of tail, has striding legs and spurs.

A plant with two leaves remaining stands between the two birds.

[Here is a gap mended with cement].

[1] None of the tesseræ forming the pavement were lost during the work above described, and all parts of the Patterned border made good were done with old tesseræ discovered beneath the floor. The grey lines in the cement where the tessellated floor has been lost were put in to show roughly the main lines of the setting-out of the floor pattern.

A leaf. Below it, *i.e.* to south-east, remains of a wing or (?) peacock's tail, the strutting breast and one striding foot (the front one) and part of leg remains.

A plant with five leaves.

A duck with up-curved bill, striding, with wing barred.

A plant with four leaves.

A pheasant with striding legs, the hinder toes just touching the ring that represents the ground. Long-tailed. The barred wing and head except beak remain, a white line over the eye.

A peacock with tail lifted off the ground, and crested head carried low with hollow neck crouched over the fore foot.

A plant with three leaves and the stalk of a fourth.

A (?) peahen with striding legs. Head, shoulders and part of body gone. This completes the circle.

Outside this is a broad band or wreath of leaves.

Beginning in the next wider band of the wild animals at the same point, *i.e.* below Orpheus's feet.

Fragment of a tree of full leafage.

[Here is the gap of cement mending above mentioned.]

Due east of Orpheus appears all that is left of a tiger, the head, back of neck, shoulder and leg alone remaining. The head hangs down, some kind of whisker or beard beneath the jaw, the eye solemn and heavy.

A tree full of leafage with a pruned branch, crossed by the swinging tail of the next beast.

A leopard, complete saving the neck, foreleg, back of head and all but a fragment of the ears. The head carried higher than the tiger's, eye less heavy. A filagree of pale tesseræ beneath the belly and between the hinder legs representing grass.

A tree full of leafage with a pruned branch, crossed by the tail of the next beast.

A tiger, striped and banded, complete, except the near fore-paw and the far hinder one, meeting as he walks, and a piece from the middle of the thigh.

The filagree patterning continues between the legs and under the belly of the tiger and in front of him.

Then comes again a tree with serrated leafage and one pruned branch, crossed by the tail of the next beast.

A lion. The front part of head and forepaw lost, part of the off hind leg, and a small piece of the near shoulder, otherwise complete and very noble.

Then a gap, and then a griffin with long, forward ears, beak and beard. The head, breast and parts of the legs only remaining. The uplifted right foreleg almost entirely gone,

This completes the outer circle.

Outside the ring of wild animals of the forest is a band of guilloche ornament, circular, woven cleverly at the points of attachment into a square of similar ornament that enclosed the whole of the Orpheus design, with four spandrels filled with leaf patterns. Three spandrels remain in whole or in part, the north-east one has quite disappeared.

On the east a broad band of various geometrical patterning is divided from the guilloche square by a double line of white tesseræ, and on the south a more important geometrical pattern the width of the Orpheus square, set out symmetrically with that, suggests the continuation of the pavement southwards.

Among the examples of Roman mosaic left to us, none will be found to excel, and very few to equal, this of the Barton at Cirencester in power of animal drawing. For ever pacing around their master, these creatures of the field and forest have been set out here in these tiny scraps of coloured stone with an ease and mastery that we must feel is very remarkable. There is a grace and nobleness in their movement and gesture that has been seldom reached, even in the highest period of the life of any nation.

ALFRED H. POWELL,

Member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

OAKRIDGE, STROUD.

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By ROLAND AUSTIN,
Librarian of the Public Library, Gloucester.

As the time for compiling another General Index to the *Transactions* has not yet arrived, it is thought that an Index to the names of the writers and subjects of the Papers printed in Volumes XXI–XXX may be useful to members of the Society, as well as to others who are interested in the archæology of our district. The following Index, which had been compiled by Mr. Roland Austin, Librarian of the Public Library, Gloucester, for his own use, has been very kindly placed by him at the service of the Society.

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MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

By IDA M. ROPER, F.L.S.

RURAL DEANERY OF NORTHLEACH.

NOTGROVE CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Bartholomew.

A Priest, about A.D. 1325.

1. Ecclesiastical. Priest in Eucharistic vestments.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Rather more than life-size, 6 ft. 5 in. long.
5. The figure is attired in the vestments for the celebration of the Mass. He wears the plain amice, widely open at the throat, a full alb with tight sleeves to the feet, and over it a long pointed chasuble, arranged in heavy folds in front. The ends of the stole are not visible, but a short maniple hangs from the left wrist. The head is tonsured, and the hair is closely cropped above the ears. The hands lie easily on the breast, not crossed, but nearly back to back.
6. The head rests on two pillows, the under one oblong, the upper one square and set diagonally.
7. The feet rest on a dog (headless) lying down.
8. The effigy has a slab narrowed towards the bottom, with the remains of the lower portion of a small canopy over the head. It is placed on a low table tomb, with buttresses projecting at the four corners, and the front and back are divided into four square panels with quatrefoils within, containing alternately two four-rayed stars superimposed,

and double circles on a lozenge. At the lower end is a plain panel with a carving of a triangle and support, which may be some sacred emblem.

9. There is no inscription.

A PRIEST, about 1325.

To judge from the carving of the tomb and slab, the deeply-cut and long chasuble, the short maniple, and all the other details which are usually found associated with these, the figure may be safely ascribed to the early part of the fourteenth century.

Compare the effigy of Prior Alexander de Sutton, 1316, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, and the monument of Abbot William de Hervington, 1340, Pershore Abbey, co. Worcester.

Tradition has assigned the effigy to William Parker or Malverne, the last Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, who died after 1539, but this date is altogether too late for the details of the present monument. The statement that the ornaments in the front of the tomb are Tudor roses is not confirmed by close examination, and this does away with the most weighty reason used for fixing upon the sixteenth-century period.[1]

10. There is no painting.

11. The features are defaced, and the surface is much worn and weathered. The head of the dog is worn away. The tomb has been repaired on its removal into the church, since 1885.

12. Placed east and west against the north wall of the north transept. It was originally in the churchyard.[2]

13. No illustration is known. Mentioned in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 33, and vol. ix., p. 66.

14. The tomb is now well protected, and is in fairly good preservation.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 33.

[2] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 583.

A PRIEST, about A.D. 1390.

1. Ecclesiastical. Priest in Eucharistic vestments.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 5 ft. 8 in. long.

5. The figure is attired in the vestments for the celebration of the Mass. He wears the plain amice, open at the throat, a full alb with tight sleeves covering the feet, and over it a pointed chasuble reaching below the knees. The lower part of the figure is too much worn to detect the ends of the stole, but a long plain maniple hangs on the left arm. The head is tonsured, and the hair is rather bushy at the sides. The arms are in the attitude of prayer, but the hands are broken off.

6. The head rests on two square pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on an animal, probably a dog.

8. The effigy, with its slab, is placed on a narrow window-sill, made wider by two plain stone brackets added against the wall.

9. There is no inscription.

A PRIEST, about 1390.

10. There is no painting.

11. The figure is very much worn from exposure to the weather, and the details of the vestments are difficult to trace. The features are defaced, the hands are broken off, and the animal at the feet is worn nearly flat.

12. Placed on the window-sill of the north wall of the north transept, above the tomb of a priest, about 1325. It was originally in the churchyard. [1]

13. No illustration is known. Mentioned in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 33

14. It is now well protected. The figure is very slender, and when in the churchyard its difference in size from the

[1] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 583.

large effigy of another priest may have given rise to the supposition that it represented a woman.[1]

TWO MEMBERS OF THE WHITTINGTON FAMILY, about A.D. 1585.

1. Military. Esquire in armour, and civilian.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, both figures 5 ft. 10 in. long.
5. The military figure is dressed in a suit of Elizabethan armour, without the usual elaborate decoration. The body is encased in a breastplate, slightly peascod, attached to a backplate with pauldrons strapped on the shoulders to epaulières of five laminated and pointed plates. Round the throat is a deep gorget of one plate with a drooping collar above it, and on the arms hinged brassarts, vambraces and tight coudes with narrow cuffs at the wrists. Strapped in three places to the rim of the breastplate are two tassets of ten narrow Almayne rivets over slightly longer puffed breeches. The legs are in cuisses and jambes, buckled three times on the outside, and meet laminated sabbatons with broad straps across the instep, to which are fastened the rowel spurs. The genouillères are of two plates, close-fitting with small side-pieces. The escalloped edge of the leather lining is shown round the tassets. A heavy waist-belt is hooked in front, and directly from a buckle on the left is hooked a heavy hangers of five straps also buckled, through which is passed a long plain sword, with S-shaped hilt. The hair is shown short and curly, with a spade beard, whiskers and small upturned moustache. The hands are in the attitude of prayer. This costume in its general detail is closely followed by many effigies erected in the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century. Compare especially those of Sir Godfrey Foljambe, 1585, Chesterfield, Co. Derby; Sir Henry Bridges,

[1] Atkyns, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 308.

1587, Keynsham, Somerset; and Sir Henry Newton, 1599, Bristol Cathedral.

The civilian is dressed in the costume of a country gentleman of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. He wears a loose fur-lined robe reaching to the feet, turned back down the front to show the lining, and with a broad collar of fur on the shoulders. It is sleeveless, but has long, hanging, false sleeves starting from narrow epaulets, and disappearing amongst the folds of the robe. Beneath is worn a doublet, but only the tight sleeves ending in narrow cuffs are visible. Round the neck is a small ruff, and on the feet the heavy, thick-soled shoes of the period. The hair is worn short and curly, with close-cut beard, whiskers and small moustache. The arms are stretched downwards in an easy attitude, and held between the separated hands is a long scroll or staff, the ends, however, only remaining. Similar costume is shown on the tomb of Sir Roger Mainwood, 1597, St. Stephen's, near Canterbury, Kent, and on the brass of William Todde, 1585, Hever, Kent.

6. The head of the one rests on a tilting helm, and the head and shoulders of the other on a square, tasselled cushion.

7. The feet of both rest on the slab only.

8. The tomb is a simple structure built against the wall, and consists of a plain slab supported on the outer edge by three slender fluted columns about 3 ft. high. The military effigy on its slab is placed on top of it, and the civilian on the ground beneath it within the pillars. On the wall close above the tomb is a large plain tablet with three shields framed in scroll- and strap-work on top of a narrow frieze.

The arms are:—

Centre shield:

"(Gules) a fess chequy (or and azure)," WHITTINGTON.

Impaling "(Gules) a chevron ermine between three escallops (argent)," MILBORNE.

Dexter shield:

WHITTINGTON, "with a mullet in chief for difference."

Impaling quarterly (1 and 4): "A lion rampant," ? POOLE.

(2) "(Or) a fess (azure)," SOLERS.

(3) "On a bend four roundlets," ? CHAMBERLAINE.

Sinister shield:

WHITTINGTON, "with a ball (? annulet) in chief for difference," impaling blank.[1]

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to be members of the WHITTINGTON family, died about 1585. The heraldry given by Mr. Francis Were does not assist in the identification. At the date 1585 there might have died three brothers—Alexander, John and Christopher—and the son and grandson of Alexander, but no exact dates are obtainable for any of them. The father of the three brothers died an old man just before 1545, so that all of them would have been above middle age at the end of the century, and their descendants could have been of mature age. The heraldry appears to have been gathered up from different monuments in the church, and put up on the wall above the figures at some restoration of the building. The first shield, Whittington-Milborne, refers to John Whittington, died just before 1545, aged about 80, whose second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Simon Milborne, and relict of Thomas Monington of Sarnesfield, co. Hereford. He owned Notgrove, and left it to Alexander, his son by his second marriage, who is the Alexander mentioned above.[2]

As regards the second shield, no record is known of a male Whittington marrying a female Poole, but a niece of the above Alexander Whittington (through the Pauntley branch) married Sir Giles Poole, of Sapperton, co. Gloucester, died 1558, and left a son and heir, Sir Henry Poole.[3]

No marriage is known to bring in the Chamberlaine family, but the Solers coat came into the Whittington family

[1] Francis Were, "Index to Heraldry in Bigland," in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxviii., part II.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. x., p. 225.

[3] *Ibid.*

when Maud de Solers married William de Whittington, died 1283.[1]

The mullet on the Whittington charge points to a third son, and therefore might refer to the third brother, Christopher, mentioned already, of whom nothing is recorded.

The third shield appears to bear the Whittington arms, with an annulet for a difference, and would then refer to a fifth son; but no member of the Whittington family appears to have had a fifth son, although a female of the family married Giles Nanfan, and bore seven sons between the period of 1610 and 1660.[2]

10. There are no traces of painting.

11. The figures are not mutilated, except that the collar of the military figure is chipped and the spurs broken off, and the roll between the hands of the civilian is gone.

12. Placed on the south side of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The general condition is good. The details of the armour and the fur lining are very carefully represented.

A LADY OF THE WHITTINGTON FAMILY, A.D. 1630.

1. Lady.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Oolite.

4. Life-size, 5 ft. 4 in. long.

5. The lady wears a long robe or gown, tight at the waist but set out very full all round, and thrown open from the waist downwards to show a pleated kirtle. The bodice is also open with a small stomacher slashed in front to show the muslin chemisette, which is visible as well on the inner side of the slashed sleeves of the gown. Round the neck is a deep drooping ruff of five closely-packed folds, and at the wrists pleated cuffs. On the feet are thick, pointed shoes. The gown is fastened at the waist by a knotted belt. The

[1] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 598.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. x., p. 223.

hair is brushed off the forehead and confined by a pointed Paris hood, nearly hidden by a large hood-à-calèche, which reaches below the shoulders. The hands are on the breast and clasp a small upright Bible.

Similar costume is shown on the brass of the wife of William Bisse, 1625, Croscombe, Somerset.

6. The head and shoulders rest on a square tasselled cushion.

7. The feet are shown amidst the folds of the gown.

8. A low table tomb with the effigy on its slab is placed within a semicircular recess flanked by heavy moulded shafts. The front is fashioned into an arcade of four arches, decorated with sculptured roses, trivial carvings, and the date 1630.

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to be a lady of the WHITTINGTON family, died 1630.[1]

In the year 1636 the manor of Notgrove was conveyed by a marriage settlement to Catherine, daughter of Edmund Whittington and his wife Elena, daughter of—Patshall, Esq.[2] It may be surmised that this Elena Whittington is the person represented.

10. The figure is not painted.

11. There are no mutilations, except that the third finger of the left hand is broken off.

12. Placed in a recess on the north side of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The general condition is good.

The features are very poorly carved, and would be no attempt at a portrait.

The freestone effigy in a long robe mentioned by Rudder (*History of Gloucestershire*, p. 583), as seen in the "north cross aile" of the church, has disappeared.

[1] Atkyns, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 308.
[2] Fosbrooke, *History of Gloucestershire*, vol. ii., p. 418.

SHERBORNE CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.

JOHN DUTTON, Esq., A.D. 1656.

1. Civilian.

2. Standing effigy.

3. White marble with part of the monument of black marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure stands draped in his shroud, which is closely drawn round the body and knotted on the head. Amidst the drapery is shown a plain undergarment with drooping collar tied with tasselled cords at the throat. The hair is worn long and curly with a drooping moustache. The right hand draws the shroud close to the breast, and the left, hanging at the side, brings it forward over the body. The right knee is slightly bent and shows a bare foot. The effigy of Edward Lord Noel, 1642, Chipping Campden, co. Gloucester, is very similar.

7. The figure stands on a pedestal shaped like a cushion.

8. A mural monument with the figure looking out from within a narrow, upright, arched recess flanked by two black marble columns with Renaissance capitals. Above is a small interrupted pediment with the coat of arms and crest between. On the wall outside the columns are a shield and lozenge surrounded by strap-work, unrolled from which are scrolls with inscriptions. Beneath the figure is an inscribed tablet.

The heraldry is as follows :—

Shield on pediment:

Quarterly: "(Argent and gules) in the second and third quarters a fret (or)," DUTTON.

Crest on esquire's helmet with wreath and mantling: a plume of five ostrich feathers (argent, azure, or, vert and gules).

Dexter shield:

DUTTON impaling "(Sable) five lozenges in bend (argent)," BAINTON.

Sinister lozenge shield, quarterly:

(1 and 4) "(Sable) a lion rampant between three cross crosslets (or)," KING.

(2 and 3) "(Gules) three lioncels passant in pale (argent) within a bordure ingrailed (or)" ? GIFFARD.

9. Inscription below figure:—

"John Dutton
of Sherborne in Glousester Shiere Esq son of William Dutton
and Anne ye daughter of Ambrose Nicholas; London Kt
A Person of a sharp Understanding and cleer Judgment
every Way
Capable of those eminent services for his Countrey which he
Underwent as knight of ye shiere in severall Parliaments
And as Deputy Lieftenant
One who was Master of a large Fortune
And Owner of a Mind Aequall to it
Noted for his great Hospitality farr and neer
And his charitable Relief of ye Poor
Which makes his Memory honoured by ye best
As his loss lamented by ye last.
He deceased in the year of his age 63 & of ye Lord 1656
Jan 14."

On scrolls, right of figure:—

"His first wife was
Elizabeth, daughter of Sr Henry Bainton
of Brumham in Wiltshire
by whom he had 1 son who dyed young
and three daughters,
whereof two only suruiued
Elizabeth married to George Colt Esq
and Lucy married to Thomas Pope, Earle
of Downe. She deceased in ye 42 Yeare
of her Age A^o Dn̄i. 1648 Apr 28."

Left of figure :—

"Ann
His second wife, fourth daughter
of John King, Bishop of London
descended from the antient
Saxon Kings
of Devonshiere
was married 8 yeares
unto whose care the erecting
of this Monument was by
will entrusted."

JOHN DUTTON, Esq., died January 14th, 1656, aged 63.

10. The monument is not painted.

11. There are no mutilations.

"T. Burman sculp: Lond: A° 1661" is inscribed below the right-hand shield. [1]

12. Placed on the north wall of the aisle. It was formerly on the north side of the chancel within the sanctuary. [2]

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 651.

14. It is in excellent condition.

15. John Dutton, Esq., was descended from a family of great antiquity, which came to Cheshire at the time of the Conquest, and obtained land there, but did not settle at Sherborne until John's grandfather purchased the manor towards the end of the sixteenth century. He succeeded to the property in 1618, and was on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War, and endeavoured to prevail on his son-in-law, George Colt, to quit the Royalists and join the other cause, offering to settle his estate upon him in return; but this being rejected, the estate was left to his nephew, William Dutton, and his heirs.

[1] Thomas Burman died March 17th, 1673–4, aged 56 years, and was buried in the churchyard of Covent Garden.

[2] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 651.

His second wife, Ann, survived him, and afterwards married Sir Richard Howe.[1]

SIR JOHN DUTTON, Bart., A.D. 1742.

1. Civilian.
2. Standing effigy, the right leg crossed over the left.
3. White marble.
4. Life-size.
5. The figure is represented in Roman dress with a long flowing toga over a low-cut, sleeveless tunic, tight breeches, and sandals. He is clean shaven with short, curly hair. The right elbow rests on a large urn, whilst the left hand gathers up the cloak at the side.

8. The monument was executed by Rysbrack, and is a stately work. On a plain raised base, 4 ft. high, stands the figure, resting the elbow on a tall urn with handsome cover, and against the wall is a background of black marble, cone-shaped, and having at its top two plain oval shields framed in scroll-work. In Rudder's time they bore the arms of DUTTON impaling CULLEN and KECK respectively.[2]

9. Inscription on the base :—

"Sir John Dutton Baronet
Son of Sir Ralph Dutton, by Mary the daughter of Peter Barwick
Doctor of Physick departed this life February the first 1742/3
in the sixty first year of his Age.
He was twice married.
First, to Mary, only child of Sir Rushout Cullen of Upton
in Warwickshire Baronet by her having no Issue.
His second Wife was Mary, Daughter of Francis Keck
of Great Tew in the County of Oxford Esquire
By whom he had one daughter who dyed an Infant.
He represented this county in Parliament

[1] Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, 1809–12, vol. vi., pp. 738 and 740.

[2] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 652.

With great integrity
Was an excellent Justice of Peace
Hospitable, affable, and benevolent."

SIR JOHN DUTTON, Bart., died February 1st, 1742, aged 60.

10. There is no painting.

11. The monument is not mutilated.

"M[1] Rysbrack Fecit 1749" is inscribed on the edge of the slab.

12. Placed against the south wall of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 652.

14. It is in excellent condition.

15. Sir John Dutton, Bart., left no children, so the Baronetcy became extinct, and the estates passed under his will to his nephew, James Lenox Naper, of Loughcrew, Ireland, on condition that he assumed the name and arms of Dutton.[1]

JAMES LENOX DUTTON, Esq., A.D. 1776, and WIFE.

1. Civilian and lady.

2. Heads in bas-relief on a medallion.

3. White marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The heads are shown in profile, overlapping one another, so that only the features of the lady are visible. The man is clean shaven, with short, curly hair.

8. A stately monument, having a plain base in two tiers about four feet high, with a background of a lofty slab of marble rounded at the top, and bearing a small shield with arms. On this base is the medallion, placed on an urn, and held upright by a life-size figure of an angel with outspread wings. She tramples underfoot a prostrate figure of Death, represented as a skeleton, partially covered

[1] Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Peerage.*

by a shroud, who tries to raise himself by leaning on his left arm.

The arms are :—

Quarterly : "Argent and gules in the second and third quarters a fret or," DUTTON.

Impaling "Argent on a chevron sable between three demi-lions rampant couped gules three bugle horns or," BOND.

Crest on wreath : a plume of five ostrich feathers vert, or, gules, argent and azure, which should be, however, in the order of argent, azure, or, vert and gules.

9. Inscription on base :—

"To the Memory of
James Lenox Dutton Esq
and Jane his second wife
Daughter of Christopher Bond of Newland in the Forest of Dean Esq
He first married Catherine one of the daughters and Coheiresses of Henry Ingoldsby Son of Lt. General Ingoldsby one of the Lord Justices of Ireland
by whom he has issue one Son
John who died September 1771 Aged 31 years and is interred in this Vault.
By his second wife Jane he had issue three surviving sons and four Daughters
James married to Elizabeth, the second daughter of Wenman Coke
of Holkham in the county of Norfolk Esq
William and Ralph
Anne married to Samuel Blackwell of Williamstrip in this county Esq
Mary married to Thomas Master of the Abbey in Cirencester Esq
Frances married to Charles Lambert of the kingdom of Ireland Esq
And Jane married to Thomas William Coke of Holkham in the county of Norfolk Esq

And Jane, Jemina and Thomas who died young.
James Lenox Dutton Esq died September the 6th 1776 aged 64 years.
Jane Dutton his wife died May the 29th 1776 aged 64 years
This Monument was erected by their three surviving sons James, William and Ralph."

JAMES LENOX DUTTON, Esq., died September 6th, 1776, aged 64.

JANE, his second wife, died May 29th, 1776, aged 64.

10. The heraldry only is painted.

11. There are no mutilations.

"R^d. Westmacott Fecit 1791" is inscribed on the edge of the slab.

12. Placed against the north wall of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The monument is in excellent condition. It is interesting because the sculptor, Richard Westmacott, was only sixteen years of age when he executed the work, and it shows that he combined at that time allegory with portraiture, whereas later he gained his highest fame by abandoning that combination in monumental art.

15. James Lenox Naper, Esq., of Loughcrew, Ireland, assumed the arms and surname of Dutton by the direction of his uncle, Sir John Dutton, Bart., died 1742, on inheriting the manor of Sherborne, the baronetcy, however, becoming extinct. He was the twenty-second in lineal descent from Eduard, the original founder of the family in Cheshire at the time of the Conquest. In his time it is stated that the actual sword of Eduard was still very carefully preserved as an heirloom in the Dutton family.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, James, who was raised to the peerage in 1784, and took the title of Baron Sherborne from the English estates.[1]

[1] Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, 1809–12, vol. vi., p. 737; Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Peerage*.

EFFIGY IN AMPNEY CRUCIS CHURCH.
GEORGE LLOYD, Esq., A.D. 1584, AND WIFE.

RURAL DEANERY OF CIRENCESTER.

AMPNEY CRUCIS CHURCH—Dedicated to the Holy Rood.

GEORGE LLOYD, Esq., A.D. 1584, and WIFE.

1. Military. Esquire in armour.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size, the man 6 ft. and the lady 5 ft. 8 in. long.
5. The man wears a suit of Elizabethan plate armour. The breastplate, slightly peascod, is fastened to a backplate with small pauldrons and epaulières of two plates. The arms are protected by brassarts and vambraces, strengthened by longtitudinal strips of plate, and cuffs of two overlapping bands, and tight coudes. The breastplate and waistpiece of three narrow strips have attached two light tassets of four Almayne rivets over equally short, puffed breeches. The legs are in hinged cuisses and jambes, which meet heavy laminated sabbatons with a broad strap buckled across the instep to carry the rowel spurs, the genouillères being of several plates, close fitting, with trefoil sides. Round the throat is a heavy gorget of three plates, each fastened on the right by a round-headed stud in a slot, and above is an upstanding ruff of a single fold, which is matched by small ruffles at the wrists. A slender belt is hooked round the waist, and carries on the right side a movable slide, to which is hooked a narrow sling buckled to the hangers of two straps, which supports upright a cross-hilt sword with fluted pommel on the left side. The hair is worn short and curly, with close-cut beard, whiskers, and drooping moustache. The hands are raised on the breast, and hold between them what might represent a heart, and on the fourth finger of the left hand is shown a signet ring, and two smaller rings on the corresponding finger of the right hand.

The lady wears a very full robe or gown thrown open from

the waist downwards to show a plain kirtle trimmed with two narrow flounces. The bodice is tight-fitting, cut square, with a wide, turned-back collar, and a twisted scarf knotted at the waist. The sleeves are plain, with small epaulets and narrow cuffs, and the partlet is pleated with a drooping ruff close under the chin. The hair is puffed out in front, and confined by a small pointed Paris hood, with a long, narrow veil hanging down behind. The feet are in pointed shoes, and the hands are raised on the breast to hold between them a similar article to that of the husband. A ring is shown on the fourth finger of both hands.

6. The man's head rests on a tilting helm with the visor closed, and that of his wife on a tasselled rectangular cushion.

7. The man's feet are on a small hound lying down facing the figure, and the lady's are shown amidst the folds of the gown.

8. The figures, on separate slabs, rest on a Renaissance tomb about nine feet high, beneath a massive testoon placed in a corner against the wall. The front has three fluted columns, with decorated capitals to support a frieze of strap-work, and a pointed pediment containing a shield with arms and crest. The vaulting is groined with alternate bosses and roses. At the back, against the wall, are two fluted pilasters and two shields, framed in strap-work and suspended from masks in relief, and on the side wall is another shield with crest. The front of the table tomb has two panels framed by pilasters of strap-work, containing groups of small figures representing the twelve children.

On the right are seven girls facing outwards, and kneeling in prayer on tasselled cushions. They are dressed in full gowns, buttoned bodices with ruffs, and pointed Paris hoods. The oldest holds a book between her hands.

On the left are five boys, also kneeling, dressed in buttoned doublets, narrow puffed breeches and tight hose. The eldest likewise holds a book.

The monument is enclosed by an iron grille, and high above it on the wall hangs a funeral helmet.

The heraldry, as described by Mr. Francis Were, is as follows :—

Shield within the pediment:

Quarterly—

(1 and 4) "Quarterly (or and azure) four roebucks statant counterchanged," LLOYD OF AMPNEY CRUCIS AND WHITMINSTER.

(2 and 3) "(Argent) a quiver (gules) banded and replenished with arrows (or) feathered (of the first) between three pheons (sable)," LLOYD OF AMPNEY CRUCIS AND WHITMINSTER.

Crest on esquire's helmet with wreath and tasselled mantling: a stag's head couped (or) charged with a crescent (ermines).

Two shields at back:

(*a*) Quarterly—

(1 and 4) "(Azure) a lion rampant within orle of roses (or)," BOWEN.

(2 and 3) "(Gules a chevron between) three Bowen knots (argent)," APOWEN OR BOWEN.

(*b*) "(Gules) a chevron ermine between three pheons (or)," ARNOLD OF GLOUCESTER.

Escutcheon at side:

First grand quarter—

Quarterly (1 and 4) "(Or and azure) four roebucks statant counterchanged," LLOYD.

(2 and 3) "(Argent) a quiver (gules) banded and replenished with arrows (or) feathered (of the first) between three pheons (sable)," LLOYD.

Third grand quarter—

Quarterly (1 and 4) "(Azure) a lion rampant within orle of roses (or)," BOWEN.

(2 and 3) "(Gules a chevron between) three Bowen knots argent," APOWEN OR BOWEN.

Impaling—

1. "Per pale (azure and gules) three lions rampant argent," HERBERT.

2. Quarterly:

(1) "(Sable) a chevron between three boy's heads couped at the shoulders (argent) crined (or) enwrapped about their necks with as many snakes (vert)," VAUGHAN.

(2) "(Sable) a chevron between three spear heads argent embrued (gules)," WATKINS.

(3) "(Azure) three cocks 2 and 1 (argent) armed, jelloped and crested (or)," UGHTRYD.

(4) "(? Argent) a lion rampant (? sable)," ? MORGAN.

3. "(Argent) a chevron (gules) between three pheons (sable)," CADWGAN.

Crest as above, and a scroll, but no motto.

9. There is no inscription.

Known from the heraldry to be GEORGE LLOYD, Esq., died October, 1584, and ANNE, his wife.

10. The figures are not painted now, but there are traces of black paint on the lady's head-dress and gown.

11. The scabbard of the sword is broken off, as well as the spurs and the front paw of the hound. The monument was recently rebuilt by Mrs. William Cripps, of Ampney Park.

12. Placed in the north-east corner of the north transept or Lady Chapel.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The monument is in good condition.

15. George Lloyd was a son of Richard Lloyd, of Llanfoist or of Abergavenny, and he married Anne, daughter of Richard Watkin, *alias* Vaughan, by whom he had twelve children. He owned property in Ampney Crucis, and lived there at Holley Rood, but his eldest son, Walter, sold the property, together with the tithes in Haresfield, soon after his succession, to Anthony Pleydell, whose descendants are lords of the manor to the present time.

His second son, Thomas, married Sybil, the heiress of Richard Bird, of Whitminster, and from the marriage sprung that branch of the Lloyds to one member of which there is an effigy, dated 1625, in Whitminster Church.[1]

NORTH CERNEY CHURCH.—Dedicated to All Saints.

There was formerly an effigy of a priest, supposed to be of Thomas Fereby, placed in the niche in the south wall of the chancel; and Bigland, writing in 1791, states that it had been taken away from there on the rebuilding of the chancel about a century before his time. Its present whereabouts is not known.

Thomas Fereby was rector of the church; he died in 1414, and was buried in the chancel.[2]

SOUTH CERNEY CHURCH.—Dedicated to All Hallows.

A CIVILIAN and LADY, about A.D. 1370.

In the south-west corner of the churchyard there are recumbent effigies in high relief of a civilian and his wife, raised two feet from the ground on stone blocks, but so worn and weatherbeaten that it is impossible to identify the costume. The figures are quite flat from the waist downwards.

The man is bareheaded with curly hair, the hands raised in prayer, and the head resting on two pillows, the top one set diagonally. The lady's head is also on two pillows, and her head-dress frames the sides of the face and touches the shoulders, and has the appearance of the early form of the nebulé or zigzag. This would fix their date at about 1370. Her arms are broken off from the elbow.

The traditions that connect the tomb with William Cutts, died about 1450, a benefactor to the parish,[3] or with the

[1] *Gloucestershire Visitation*, 1623; *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxxi., p. 241.

[2] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 287.

[3] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, vol. i., p. 289.

parents of Abbot Parker, of Gloucester, who were recently dead about 1519,[1] are untenable, because the nebulé head-dress of this form had gone out of use before 1390.

THOMAS BUSH, Esq., A.D. 1776.

1. Civilian.

2. Bust in relief on a medallion.

3. White marble, the slab of grey marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The head is in profile covered by a bag-wig, which is tied behind and has curls at the side. The collar of the coat and a plain cravat are also shown. He has a small moustache.

8. A mural monument with a truncated pyramid in the centre of which the medallion is shown suspended by a ribbon within a half wreath of oak leaves. On a small sarcophagus below is seated a Genius, resting the right elbow on an urn, and holding an inverted torch in the left hand. An heraldic shield rests against the urn with an inscription beneath.

The arms are :—

" (Argent) a horse rampant (sable) in chief three crosses patée (gules)," BUSH.

Impaling " (Or) three bull's heads trunked (sable) langued (gules)," BULL.

9. Inscription :—

" This Monument is erected to perpetuate the Memory of
Thomas Bush late of Cirencester Esq and Mary his Wife.
He died September 29th 1776 aged 87
She October 5th 1774 aged 88
He was for more than 40 Years in the Commission of the Peace for the Counties of Glo^{r} and Wilts, and in his extensive Administration of Justice manifested himself eminently possessed of all those Qualifications necessary to form the Good Magistrate. He was a pleasing Companion and an useful Friend and in the Intercourse and

[1] *Sancti Petri Gloucestræ* (Rolls Series), vol. iii., appendix, p. 305.

extensive Connections he had with Mankind rendered himself as amiable by an Easiness of Access and Affability of Conduct, as he did serviceable to his Country by a steady and uniform Attention to the Duties of his Office, in the Execution whereof he was neither awed by Fear nor deterred by Power."

THOMAS BUSH, Esq., died September 29th, 1776, aged 87.

10. There is no painting.

11. The wreath of oak is badly broken, and the little toe of the right foot of the Genius is broken off.

12. Placed against the north wall of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 290 (wrong date of death).

14. It is in fairly good condition.

15. One of the three manors of South Cerney belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, and was held by Thomas Bush, who built a large modern house there. He gave by deed in 1747 the sum of £5 per annum for the apprenticeship of boys to be paid on every Easter Monday.[1]

CIRENCESTER CHURCH.[2]—Dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

REBECCA POWELL, A.D. 1722, and TWO HUSBANDS.

1. Lady and two civilians.

2. Busts.

3. White marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The lady wears a full bodice, cut low, edged with ruching and laced in front over a plain vest. A coverchief to the shoulder confines her long curls, and a necklace of beads encircles the throat.

[1] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 290.

[2] The five other monuments in the church have been already recorded in vol. xxv., pp. 270-3.

The two men are dressed alike in cloaks draped round the shoulders over a buttoned coat, open at the throat to show a loose shirt. They wear long full-bottomed periwigs.

8. A mural inscribed slab with fluted pilasters has a narrow shelf on the top of which are placed the three busts, that of the lady being in the centre. Beneath each is a shield with arms, and below the slab a coat of arms supported by two cherubs.

Arms on central shield :—

" Argent a fess gules between three falcon's wings elevated azure," GEORGE.

Impaling " Gules three fleurs-de-lis or on a chief argent a lion passant of the field," BROOKE.

Beneath busts :—

" Argent a fess gules between three falcon's wings elevated azure," GEORGE.

" Per fess or and argent a lion rampant gules," POWELL.

" Gules three fleurs-de-lis or on a chief argent a lion of the field," BROOKE.

The Brooke and Powell shields were transposed in 1867 by mistake.[1]

A shield with painted arms of GEORGE with quarterings impaling another coat with quarterings seen by Anthony à Wood, the antiquary, in 1678, on the wall of Jesus Chapel, is no longer there.[2]

9. Inscription on tablet :—

" To the lasting remembrance of
William Georges Esq
This monument was erected by
Rebecca, his Relict
Who being afterwards married to
Thomas Powell Esq
Ordered that his Memory also should be
Herein transmitted to Posterity.

[1] Sir John Maclean in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xvii., p. 282.
[2] Woods MSS. D 11, Bodleian Library.

William Georges Esq
was underneath interred June the 18th 1707
in the 81st Year of his Age.
By his Body was deposited That of
Thomas Powell Esq Sept the 13th 1718
In the 67th Year of his Age.
To their Remains were added those of Rebecca
Nov ye 8th 1722 in ye 80th year of her Age.

Whose Bequest, out of ye Estate devised to her by W.G. did at Lady Day 1728 amount to 2400L and 200L a year for erecting and endowing a charity School or Schools in this Town.

The other Pious and Charitable Gifts of R.P. and also of W.G. and T.P. are Recorded in ye Catalogue of Benefactions to this Parish."

REBECCA POWELL, died 1722, aged 79.

WILLIAM GEORGE, died 1707, aged 80.

THOMAS POWELL, died 1718, aged 66.

10. The busts are not painted.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed against the east wall of the south aisle in the Chapel of the Name of Jesus.

13. No illustration is known. Mentioned in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xvii., p. 282.

14. The monument is in good preservation.

15. Members of the George family were seated in Cirencester from very early times, and often represented that borough in Parliament. No particulars are known of William George. His wife's maiden name was Brooke, and after his death she married Thomas Powell, Esq. The reason for recording the name as Georges in the inscription is not clear. The family was always known as George, and as such appears in documents.[1]

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xvii., p. 283.

ALLEN 1ST EARL BATHURST, A.D. 1775, WIFE and SON.

1. Civilian and lady, and Judicial.
2. Busts.
3. White marble.
4. Life-size.
5. The bust of the earl is draped with a fringed scarf fastened on the left shoulder. The hair is closely cropped and the face clean shaven.

The son wears an open coat with large buttons over a buttoned vest, the top one undone, and falling bands. The face is clean shaven, and the head covered by a long and curly wig reaching to the shoulders. This wig and the bands mark his official position as judge.

The lady has some drapery arranged like a bodice, open at the throat, and on the head a coverchief, one end brought forward on the left, the hair being brushed back from the forehead.

8. A mural monument with the busts of the earl and his wife placed on the top of a large rectangular inscribed slab resting on carved corbels. Below is a modern shield with arms and a narrow shelf with two sloping panels, also inscribed.

The bust of the son is placed on a sculptured stone bracket fixed against the wall on the left of the monument.

The tomb with heraldry described in Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 364, is no longer in existence.

The arms on modern shield are:—

Quarterly—

(1 and 4) "Sable two bars ermine in chief three crosses patée or," BATHURST.

(2 and 3) "Gules on a cross flory five mullets of the first," OTTRICK.

Over all an inescutcheon of pretence:—

Quarterly—

(1 and 4) "Barry of six or and gules, a canton ermine," APSLEY.

(2 and 3) "Gules a bend between two escallops or," PETRE.

Crest on peer's helmet, out of an earl's coronet—

Supporters: Two stags (argent) each gorged with a collar gemellé.

Motto on scroll: "Tien ta foy."

9. Inscription on tablet beneath the two busts:—

"Near this Place are deposited
the Remains of
Allen, Earl Bathurst and Catherine, Lady Bathurst.
In the Legislature and Judicial departments
of the great Council of the Nation he served his
country 69 years with honor, ability and diligence.
Judgement and taste directed his Learning
Humanity tempered his Wit
Benevolence guided all his Actions
He died regretted by most and praised by all
The 16th day of September 1775 aged 92

Catherine his Consort, by her milder virtues
Added Lustre to his great Qualities
Her domestic Aeconomy extended his Liberality
Her Judicious Charity, his Munificence
Her prudent government of her family, his hospitality
She receiv'd the reward of her Exemplary Life
The 8th day of June 1768 aged 79
Married July the 6th 1704."

On sloping panel:—

"In Memory of HENRY Earl BATHURST
Son and Heir of ALLEN Earl BATHURST
and DAME CATHERINE his wife.

His Ambition was to render himself not unworthy of such Parents.

He was born on the second day of May 1714 O.S. and died on the sixth day of August 1794 N.S.

Memoriae Sacrum
Tryhenae Comitissae Bathurst Viduae Henrici Bathurst
Cancellarii Magnae Britanniae Integerrimi
Quâ nulla ullius Ordinis et Uxoris et Matris Munera
Aut melius sustinuit, aut magis ornavit
Valetudine integra, non mortis immemor
Morbi gravitalem decedentisque vitae labefactionem
Placidâ quâdem Fortitudine et mira simplicitate
Feliciter sustentavit
Nat XXXI Die Mensis Decembri A.D. MDCCXXX
Obiit Die Mensis Decembri A.D. MDCCCVII."

On shield beneath bust :—

"Henry iind Earl Ob: MDCCXCIV"

ALLEN 1st EARL BATHURST died September 16th 1775 aged 92
CATHERINE his wife died June 8th 1768 aged 79
HENRY their second son died August 6th 1794 aged 81.

10. The heraldry only is painted.

11. There are no mutilations. The inscribed tablets and heraldry were added in 1909.

12. Fixed against the west wall of the Trinity Chapel in the north aisle. This is about the original position, although in the meantime the busts have stood at the east end of St. Mary's Chapel.[1]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The general condition is good. The busts are the work of Joseph Nollikens, R.A., who was reckoned specially successful in portraiture.

15. Allen Bathurst was the eldest son of Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Knt., of Pauler's Perry, co. Northampton. He was born in 1684, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and in 1704 married his first cousin, Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir Peter Apsley, of Apsley, Sussex, by whom he had four sons and five daughters.

He was advanced to the peerage in 1712 as Baron

[1] Fuller, *History of Cirencester Church*, 1882, p. 56.

Bathurst, of Battlesden, co. Bedford, and created in 1772 Earl Bathurst, of Bathurst, Sussex. He was distinguished for his wit, learning and literary friendships; he was a strenuous opponent to Sir Robert Walpole and his administration, and his speeches are recorded in *The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords*. He died in 1775, and was succeeded by his second son Henry, an eminent lawyer, who had been elevated to the peerage himself upon being appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in the dignity of Baron Apsley, 1771, having been previously one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. His lordship married firstly in 1754 Anne, daughter of — James, Esq., widow of Charles Phillipps, and secondly in 1759 Tryphena, daughter of Thomas Scarven, of Maidwell, co. Northampton, and had by her two sons and four daughters. He died in 1794, and was succeeded by his son Henry.[1]

KEMBLE CHURCH.—Dedicated to All Saints.

A KNIGHT, about A.D. 1290.

1. Military. Knight in armour.

2. Recumbent effigy in high relief; cross-legged below the knee.

3. Purbeck marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The knight is represented in a suit of chain mail. The hauberk, which reaches to the middle of the thighs, has long sleeves, and is continued over the head with scull cap beneath. Chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, and a long flowing surcoat cut up in front envelops the body. The details of the cingulum and the diagonal sword-belt are worn away, but the right hand is shown to be in the act of sheathing a long sword. Borne upright on the left arm is a

[1] Burke, *Peerage*, p. 132; Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 348, note.

plain kite shield, its guige destroyed, and from beneath it appears the hand to steady the sword. Aubrey[1] saw on it the charges of "Two chevrons between eight crosslets 4. 3. 1," but this coat cannot be named.

6. The head rests on a flat, square pillow.

7. The feet are on an animal (? wolf) lying down.

8. The effigy is placed within a high arched recess, which starts four feet above the floor. It is on its original slab, and has around the head a canopy tri-cusped and deeply moulded with a shaft on either side, ending each in a beautifully carved head of a knight in coif de mailles. When the church was nearly rebuilt in 1877 an arched recess was restored in the south chapel, and within it the effigy is known to have rested. It is probable that the figure and the tomb were carved at the same time because of their similarity.[2]

The tomb has a segmental moulded canopy crocketed and cusped, each of the four cusps ending in carved heads of the same period as those above the effigy, and the shafts have carved caps, the one on the east of two female heads and the opposite one that of a man.

This is the only example in the county, and perhaps elsewhere, of a military effigy shown beneath a canopy, this form of additional decoration being otherwise reserved for the monuments of ecclesiastics or of ladies, for whom it came into vogue about 1230.

9. There is no inscription.

A KNIGHT, about 1290.

Aubrey attributes the figure to a member of the Allam or Hallam family, but the arms he saw on the shield do not belong to the Salisbury branch.[3]

10 The links of mail were carved on the stone, and are still visible on the top of the head, shoulders and legs.

[1] *Collections for Wilts*, 1821, p. 1.
[2] Aubrey's *Collections for Wilts*, 1821, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*

11. The surface of the upper part of the body is exceedingly worn, and the details of the costume are difficult to trace.

12. Placed in a recess on the west side of the north chapel, now used as a vestry, and almost hidden from view by the organ. Before 1877 it was in the recessed tomb on the north side of the south chapel, or "Ewen Aisle." [1]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The figure is well protected, and although very much worn now, is a handsome specimen of a thirteenth-century effigy.

[1] *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxvii., p. 39.

THE PAROCHIAL BOUNDARIES OF BRISTOL.

By the Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.,
Vicar of Banwell.

A lecture delivered at Bristol on October 19th, 1910.

I propose to deal with this subject as with the Bristol Parish Churches a year ago, taking first the boundaries of Westbury-on-Trym, then a few south of the Avon in the ancient parish of Bedminster, and finally those in the ancient borough of Bristol.

One of the puzzles of my boyhood, spent at Stoke Bishop, was the ubiquity and multiplicity of stones marked "W. P. 1848." Crossing the Down from Stoke to Clifton, or Gallows Acre Lane, I passed a double row of stones running from the Reservoir to the Gully. Close to the Reservoir there was a little group of them; they occurred at intervals all down Whiteladies Road, and finally disappeared among the streets of Kingsdown. Another set appeared on the east of the Down, and after crossing the Westbury Road disappeared at the top of Parry's Lane. Another of these stones stood by the ancient dock at Sea Mills, and if the country walk was prolonged there were others in Shirehampton Park, and yet another by Penpole Point. What did they all mean?

The wisdom of the ancients could only reply that they marked the boundaries of Westbury Parish, and they were put up in the year 1848. But that was not very satisfying, especially as near some of them stood other stones marked "C. P.," which obviously meant Clifton Parish. The intelligence of the boy had already gone as far as that.

Fully forty years elapsed before I made out the cause

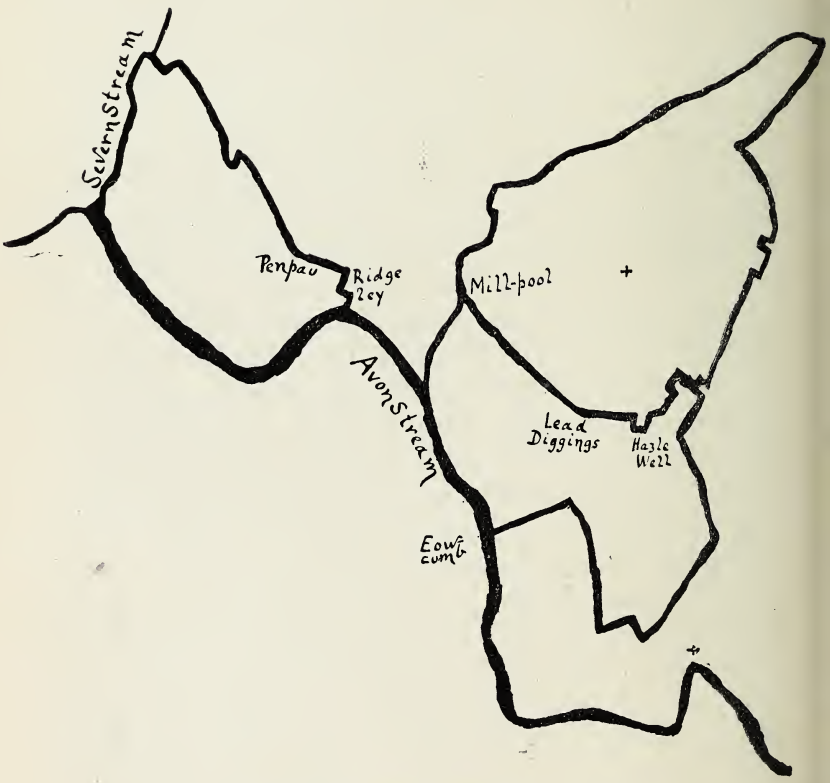
of the apparently curious disposition of these stones, and the date of the earliest occurrence of the line which they mark, and I found myself among the very beginnings of the welding together of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

In 802 Egbert succeeded to the Kingdom of the West Saxons, and on that same day Ealdorman Ethelmund crossed the Thames at Kempsford from the Hwiccians into the West Saxon realm. Ealdorman Weoxtan met him at the head of the Wiltshiremen, there was a big fight, and both Ealdormen were slain, but the Wiltshiremen had the victory.

Ciolburga, widow of Ealdorman Ethelmund, was provided for, in a way not unusual in those days, by being set as Abbess over the Minster at Berkeley. But this arrangement was evidently very distasteful to the Berkeley folk, for Ethelric, her son, in a disposition of his property made in 804, left to his mother, if she should survive him, a life-interest in property at Westbury and Stoke, with reversion to the Cathedral at Worcester. Furthermore, he made elaborate provision against what he called the "contention" of the Berkeley folk, which was most likely an assertion that as Ciolburga had become Abbess of Berkeley, all her property had passed to the community, a result obviously not likely to be acceptable to the lady herself, or to her relatives.

Ciolburga died in 807, and left the seeds of a long-lived litigation behind her. On October 30th, 824, no doubt after the death of Ethelric, a dispute between the family at Berkeley and the Bishop of Worcester concerning the Minster at Westbury was settled in favour of the Bishop. There were present at the oath of confirmation at Westbury fifty mass-priests and ten deacons, and of all other priests one hundred and sixty—by far the largest assembly of ecclesiastics recorded in old English history.

Stoke was not dealt with at this time, and it remained in the possession of Berkeley Minster for sixty years longer. But the Bishops of Worcester kept their claim alive, and in 883 the matter was finally settled by Ealdorman Ethelred,



WESTBURY AND STOKE, A.D. 883.

son-in-law of King Alfred. He remitted certain taxes due from the Berkeley estates to the king, and he granted the land at Stoke on a three-life lease to Cynulf, son of Ceoluht, on the payment of sixty mancuses of gold, with reversion to the See of Worcester. This settlement of Stoke, which is witnessed first of all by King Alfred himself, closes with a list of the land boundaries which are marked out to-day by stones inscribed "W. P. 1848."

First from Hazlewell in Hazledean.

Then to Waldeswell.

From Waldeswell to Sweordestone in Eowcumb.

From Eowcumb to Avon stream.

From Avon stream again up then to Ridgeley.

Then from Ridgeley, then to Penpau.

From Penpau then to Severn stream.

From Hazlewell again then to the Lead-diggings.

From the Lead-diggings to Millpool.

From Millpool again to Avon stream.

The boundaries are those of the two tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton, and Hazlewell, the point from which they start, must have lain somewhere near Springfield, the house in which Mr. Savage used to live.

The first three points—Hazlewell, Waldeswell, and Sweordestone—mark the southern boundary of Stoke Bishop Tithing, by the well-known line of stones through Kingsdown, along Whiteladies Road, and across the Down to the Avon at the foot of Eowcumb, or the Gully. Waldeswell I cannot certainly identify, but if we might translate Sweordestone *Black-stone*, then the origin of the name *Blackrock*, after which the quarry is called, would date from more than one thousand years ago. There were few boundary-points on this line, which was not concerned in the dispute between the rival minsters. We would gladly know what lay to the south of the line, where Bristol now is, in King Alfred's time, but that, again, was no concern of the families at Worcester and Berkeley.

Then, after marking off in this way the southern boundary of Stoke Bishop Tithing, the settlement proceeds to define the eastern boundary of Shirehampton Tithing. Passing along down Avon stream to the curve of the Horseshoe bend, then up the cliff, through Ridgeley, now Shirehampton Park, over Penpole, and through the Marsh to the Severn. This line is still marked out by the stones in Shirehampton Park and at Penpole.

It only remained to define the northern boundary of Stoke Bishop Tithing, and for this purpose the line returned to Hazlewell by Springfield; from Hazlewell to the Lead-diggings—no doubt the deep pits on the edge of the Down by Parry's Lane—then to Millpool, along Parry's Lane to Clack Mill; then to Avon stream, along the Trym to Sea Mills. This line is marked by the stones on the Westbury Road, at the top of Parry's Lane, and at Sea Mills. It may be doubted whether any other one of the great boroughs of England includes either a dolmen like that at Druid's Stoke, or a set of land-boundaries certified by the hand of King Alfred, and still in force to-day.

With regard to Bedminster, Bristol had begun to attach some of it before the date of Domesday, for there can be little doubt that the 112 acres of meadow and wood held by the Bishop of Coutances, in Bedminster, represent the area of the three Bristol parishes south of Avon, and that it was held by him as Constable of the Castle to secure the passage of the river. The total area of the three parishes is 173 acres, the deficiency of 61 acres probably representing the salt marsh by the river, then valueless—the record, as usual, only registering land which was in some sort profitable. But it is certain that the area of the three parishes was included within the district granted and confirmed to the burgesses of Bristol about 1188 by Prince John; and it is a very remarkable thing that the boundaries of these three parishes still follow in the low ground what must have been the rhines by which in the time of the Conqueror the

land-water slowly crawled to the sea, and up which the tide-water swept twice a day in a vain attempt to keep them clean.

The Parish of St. Thomas is separated from that of Temple by a line which in the old days was marked by a ditch known as the Law-ditch, and on its western side it is separated for a short distance from the Parish of St. Mary Redcliff by another Law-ditch, which continued its course past the west end of St. Thomas's Church, and then turned rather sharply to the left, and ran into the Avon near Penner Wharf. It was no doubt up these Law-ditches that in the great flood of January 20th, 1607, the water ran which stood half-way up the seats in Temple and St. Thomas's Churches. The floor of St. Thomas's Church was, however, then some three feet lower than it is at present. It is clear that the boundaries of the three parishes, as they now exist, are marked out by the course of these old rhines, and that the divisions of the cattle-pastures in the days of the Conqueror, or before, are the divisions of our parishes to-day.

We now pass to the consideration of the parochial boundaries of the old Borough of Bristol to the north of Avon. I suppose most of us take our idea of the old borough from the plan in Seyer's *History* § 64, which has been reproduced in one form or another in most of the local histories. Here we find the borough standing on a ridge, bounded closely on the south by the Avon and on the west by the Frome, which river runs on the north side in low ground at some little distance from the ridge, the high ground being continued to the surrounding country towards the east. The most prominent feature in the plan is a strongly-marked line of fortification drawn round the borough on the high ground, near the river on the south and west, at some little distance from the Frome on the north, the impression left on the mind being that the borough was essentially a fortified place, and that the arrangement of the streets—at any rate on the south and west—was determined by the course of the

wall, as certainly Nicholas Street and St. Leonard's Lane seem to be.

With regard to the course of the most ancient wall, on the southern and western sides of the borough, from near St. Peter's Church to Small Street Gate, it ran very close to the Avon and Frome, but well above those streams, as a glance down St. Nicholas Steps or through the offices outside St. Leonard's Lane will show. But from Small Street Gate the wall ran outside Bell Lane, under St. John's Church, then round by St. John's Arch and Tower Lane, and at last parallel with Wine Street. Here the line of wall is not only above the Frome, but it is also some distance within its course. St. John's Bridge is about one hundred yards from St. John's Gate, and the distance from the arch by St. John's Almshouses to the Bridewell is fully one hundred and twenty yards. In later times a wall was built close inside the Frome for the whole of this distance, but we are concerned only with the inner and more ancient wall.

Now it is a very remarkable thing that the boundaries of the old parishes are determined by the water-ways of Avon and Frome, and except for a short distance on the north-west side of the borough, laid down probably after the Frome had been diverted from that part of its course, they are absolutely independent of the wall; they cut across it as if it did not exist. And it seems likely that when those boundaries were first laid down there was no wall, that the wall was built across them afterwards, so that the boundaries belong to a time when Bristol was an open *stow*, not an enclosed *tun* or a *chester* or fortress. I do not think this has been noticed before, but it seems to be clearly the case, as a detailed examination of the boundaries will show.

As the old course of the Frome is covered over to the north of the ancient borough, and filled up to the west of it, it is needful to make clear what that old course was. By the north of the castle it flows under Fairfax Street to beyond Union Street; then it flows north to the Bridewell, and from

Royal Hospital
Industrial School (Boys)
Industrial School (Girls)
Hebrew Asylum (Women)
New Synagogue
Fort
School
Almshouses
Tasometer
St Mary Redcliffe Church
St Mary Redcliffe Vicarage
Burial Gd
Moravian Ch
Tramway Depot
Grave Yard & Dissenters Grave
Confectioners Works
Urinal 32
Waiting Rooms
HAY MARKET
Sun Sch
Brewery
Police Court
Corn Exchange
Grand Hotel
Pillory
Hotel
Market
Cattle Market
Cloth Hall
Old Cloth Hall
Old Kind Street
Merchant Street
Peter Street
Wine Street
Broad Mead
Lewins Mead
Nelson St
St James Street
St James Barton
Lower Maudlin Street
Upper Maudlin Street
Colston Street
Lower Pain Row
Pero Road
Broad Street
Horse Fair
Rosemary Lane
Clarence Terrace
Bonds Street
Barras Street
Lower Union Street
Union Inn
Drill Ground
Gas Works
Tramway Stables
Royal Veterinary Coll
Stores
Bank
Sun Fire Office
Almshouses
P.H.
L.H.
Fn.
Sch.
Ch.
Chap.
Pk.
Mkt.
Hall
Sta.
Gt.
Ln.
Rd.
St.
Ave.
Sq.
Cres.
Pl.
Ter.
Bldgs.
Yd.
Mead
Fair
Row
Street
Lane
Road
Hill
Bridge
Gate
Square
Place
Terrace
Buildings
Yard

THE PAROCHIAL BOUNDARIES OF BRISTOL.

thence under Rupert Street to the Stone Bridge, and under Colston Avenue to the bridge by the Tramways Centre, from which it may be seen issuing with considerable force in flood-time. From the Stone Bridge the Frome flowed before about 1247 in a southward and eastward direction along the line of St. Stephen Street and Baldwin Street to the Avon, south of St. Nicholas Church, turning a mill known as Baldwin's Cross Mill near the foot of St. Nicholas Steps. The descent from St. Nicholas Street or St. Leonard's Lane is a fairly steep one, and on its top the wall was placed.

Putting aside the boundaries of St. Peter's and St. Leonard's parishes for the moment, we see that the eastern boundary of the Parishes of St. Mary-le-Port and Christ Church runs nearly straight across from the Avon to the old course of the Frome ; it is at any rate quite apart from the old line of the wall to the east of the borough. The western boundary of the Parish of St. Mary-le-Port also runs across the line of wall to the water. In these cases no doubt the wall followed the line of the water so closely that it might be said that they prove nothing. But that is not so with the boundary of St. Nicholas Parish. After a series of twists which look very much like the boundaries of enclosures, it runs right across the wall and the Frome, through the Marsh to the Avon by the Grove. To the east of St. Leonard's Parish the western boundary of the Parish of St. John cuts adross Bell Lane and the line of the wall to the old course of the Frome under Rupert Street, while its eastern boundary also cuts across the line of the wall, and ends at the old course of the Frome, near the foot of the Pithay. In every case we see that the boundary begins and ends at a waterway, its course being quite independent of the line of the wall.

The case of St. Leonard's Parish is peculiar. In the first place, because it really consists of two parishes, St. Leonard's and St. Giles's, the former church standing over the gate at the west end of Corn Street, the latter over the gate at the

foot of Small Street. The parish boundary starts side by side with that of St. John, from the old course of the Frome under Rupert Street; then it follows the boundary of old St. Werburgh's Parish until it meets that of St. Nicholas, which it follows into the Marsh as far as Great King Street, then it returns northwards to the old course of the Frome in Baldwin Street; then it seems to run along the line of the wall nearly as far as Small Street Gate, and then it returns up the course of the Frome to the point in Rupert Street from which it started.

Here seems to be clearly a case where a parish boundary followed the wall in preference to the old course of the Frome hard by, and the question arises how this unusual condition came into existence. We notice first of all that the parish on the other side of the boundary is that of St. Stephen, and as the western boundary of that parish is formed by the Floating Harbour, the line cannot have been laid down until about 1247, when the old course of the Frome under the western wall was filled up and the Floating Harbour was dug out. We saw last year that the latest of our parish churches are those of St. Stephen and St. Augustine, and it certainly seems quite likely that after the course of the Frome had been filled up, the parish boundary of St. Leonard's was pushed back a few yards from its old line in the bed of the Frome to the wall on the top of the slope, which under the altered conditions would certainly make a much better landmark.

With regard to St. Peter's Parish, its western boundary may very well be the original one, but its eastern boundary seems to be determined by the western front of the castle, for when the Castle was set up its area, of course, became extra-parochial. If we take the view, which seems to be the true one, that St. Peter's Church was originally the mother church of the whole Manor of Barton by Bristol, then it would have been the parish church of the whole area except the Royal Forest of Kingswood, which was, of course, like the castle, extra-parochial.

It seems not at all unlikely that when St. James's Church superseded St. Peter's as the chief of the Bristol churches, the Church of St. Philip and Jacob was founded by the side of the market to serve as the parish church of the area south of the Frome, for the castle would render access to St. Peter's from that district rather difficult. With regard to the parishes of the other ancient churches, that of St. Lawrence is annexed to St. John's Parish, those of St. Ewen and St. Werburgh lie entirely within the wall, and that of St. Michael lies altogether to the north of the Frome. There is no evidence to show what was the boundary-line between Bristol and the Manor of Billeswick to the south of the Stone Bridge before the course of the Frome was altered; probably it was superseded by the Floating Harbour in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Looking at the map of Bristol, then, we see two sets of dividing lines. First, the wall separating the area to be defended from the region without; and, secondly, the parochial boundaries which mark out the regions into which the inhabited region was divided. And we notice that these two sets of lines are quite independent of each other. The walls no doubt completed a circuit; the boundaries radiate from the centre to the Frome and Avon, which almost encircled the little settlement, and they cut through the line of wall as though it was not there.

The question naturally arises which of these two sets of lines is the older, and to that question there can be but one answer: clearly the boundaries are older than the wall. For if the wall were the older, we should certainly find cases where the boundaries were cut short by the wall and then ran along it. This, however, we do not find, though we do find a case where a boundary follows the wall for a short distance; but in that case (St. Leonard's) we have seen that it is likely that a new condition of things had arisen which may well have caused a slight change in the position of the boundary. There is, of course, the case of the four

churches which stood on the gateways in the wall; but we saw last year, when we were considering the history of the old churches, that the churches on the ground were probably older than the churches on the wall, a conclusion which was borne out by the fact that no wall church gave its name to a ward. It may very well have happened that the parishes belonging to the four old churches of Christ Church, All Saints, St. Ewen and St. Werburgh stretched out originally to the Avon and Frome, and were divided when the wall-churches were built, the more distant portions being assigned to the new churches. At any rate, there is not a single instance where the boundaries crossed both Frome and Avon.

Thus the consideration of the old parish boundaries seems to have led us back to a period when Bristol was an open place, before any defensive work had been carried round it. And the place-name would seem to point to such a condition of things, when the title Bridge-place was first applied to the collection of houses at the bridge-head. It was not a *Tun* or portion enclosed, or shut off from the rest of the manor, neither was it a *ceaster* or fortress, like Gleawanceaster, Cirenceaster and Bathanceaster, the fortresses of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath which were captured after the Battle of Dyrham in 577. Primitive Bristol was simply a *stow*, a place where the houses stood more thickly together than they did on other portions of the manor. No one founded Bristol, it simply grew by the energy of its own people. Someone built a bridge, and the people came and built their houses, and so the Bridge-place began to be. The more one considers the churches of Bristol, their dedications, and their parish boundaries, the more clear it seems to be that it is a very ancient place. When it came into being we cannot tell, but certainly so far back that Celt and Mercian could live and worship side by side in churches called by the names of their own local saints. What were the causes which raised Bristol from insignificance, and at what time it was first girded with a fortification, we seem to have no

means of discovering. What it was at first we may guess from the parish boundaries; what it is now we know. We know also the history of its growth for more than eight hundred years, but the story of the early days of Bristol has still to be worked out.

The following points with regard to the early history of Bristol seem to be fairly clear.

It was not the successor of any considerable centre of population in Roman or British times.

It did not grow up under a fortress or round a minster. It grew up on the Royal Manor of Barton, the original court-house of which stood at Barton Hill, which name, together with Lawford's (Hlaford's—the Lord's) Gate in front and Kingsland Road behind, would seem to mark the ancient site.

It grew up at the head of a bridge that was cast across the Avon Note that in Domesday Book both Barton by Bristol to the north of Avon and Bedminster to the south of it appear as ancient estates of the Crown.

As the manor on which it grew up had no distinctive name, the settlement at the bridge-head took the name simply of Brygcstow—the Bridge-place. Bristol Bridge is older than Bristol.

We may perhaps guess that the bridge was not thrown over the river before the time of Egbert, when Mercia became practically a dependency of Wessex. But as soon as the two kingdoms came under one head it would be very likely that a bridge would be built; for there is no reason for supposing that there was any bridge below Bath, yet a bridge must have been urgently needed in the district; and the site of Bristol, where two Royal Manors probably faced one another across the river, protected from attack from the sea as it was by the high land at Clifton and Leigh, would be an admirable site for a bridge.

The dedication to St. Werburgh need not of necessity point to an earlier date than this, for though that princess died about 710, her dedications at Treneglos and Warbstow in Cornwall

can hardly have been acquired much before the battle at Hengestdune in the last year but one of the reign of King Egbert. It is true that Mr. Kerslake connected the dedication at Warbstow with the alliance between Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, and Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, for the purpose of fighting the Welsh in 743, but this alliance was apparently only temporary. At any rate, the Chronicle notes under 741 as a mark of Cuthred's rule that he fought sternly with King Ethelbald, and he certainly utterly overcame the Mercian king at Burford in 752. The results of Egbert's fights with the Cornishmen seem to have been lasting.

Bristol was not at first a fortified place; indeed, it seems clear that the whole system of the boundaries of the ancient parishes had grown up before a wall was carried round the settlement. But the expression used in the Worcester Chronicle for 1067, concerning one of Harold's sons who had come on a plundering raid from Ireland, "Foron pa to Brygcstowe and pa burh abrecan woldon" ("He went then to Bristol and strove to storm the town"), might be taken to imply that some kind of fortification had been by that time carried round the place; but there is no evidence to show when this was done. The passage in the Parker Chronicle for 918, "The king had arranged for opposing their landing on the south coast of the estuary of the Severn, from Cornwall westward to the mouth of the Avon eastward," does not of necessity imply fortifications at all, and it makes no reference to Bristol, which is not mentioned in the list of West Saxon fortresses dating from the time of Edward the Elder. It may be taken, however, that the revival of the raids of the Northmen in the early years of the reign of Ethelred the Unready would have made some kind of fortification needful for the protection of a place which, as its coins show, was already of considerable importance.

But though we may in this way form some idea of the possible origin and development of Bristol, it all remains pure conjecture: no light is thrown upon the place from

without, and there is nothing to connect the making of Bristol with the making of England. When the borough first appears in history, in 1052, it is already a seaport, strong enough a few years later to beat off by stern fighting ("seo burhwaru heō heardlice wiðfeaht"—"the townsmen stoutly withstood them") a host of plundering Irish Northmen.

Bristol has been from the beginning a place of trade and commerce, ever growing by the strength and energy of its own people, owing little, if anything, to kings or barons or prelates; and people of that kind, who stay at home and mind their own business, leave little mark on the pages of history, though very likely they were much better employed than many of those whose names are written large thereon.

* * * * *

It seems that in the future it may become difficult to trace out the parochial boundaries within the borough of which mention has been made, for the Government are ceasing to mark the parish boundaries on their large-scale Ordnance Maps. The reason given for this step backward seems to be that as Bristol is now for civil purposes a single parish it is no longer needful to mark the old parishes; but this is not very convincing. Again, I have been told since this lecture has been delivered that the boundary-stones on Durdham Down have been removed. This seems to have been done silently, without reason given; but it could not have been done without the knowledge and consent of some Public Authority. Yet it is likely that there are many places in England with not one-hundredth part of the historical interest of Bristol where the authorities would be only too glad to preserve the outward marks of such a proof of the continuity of English history as a boundary-line which was certified by King Alfred himself. Truly the generous donor of Leigh Woods showed his wisdom when he placed his beautiful gift in charge of trustees who should be subject neither to governmental nor municipal influences.

Notices of Publications.

ADAMS'S CHRONICLE OF BRISTOL. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd. 1910. Published by Subscription.

THE publication of this volume, the best among the many ancient chronicles of Bristol, is due to the generosity and public spirit of Mr. F. F. Fox, to whom also the ancient city owes many another debt of gratitude, not only for the interest and care which has been bestowed for so many years on all that concerns her history and antiquities, but also for other documents which but for him would have remained unpublished.

As in the early days of the Christian Church, so in old time in the boroughs of England, many took in hand the task of setting forth in order an account of events of interest that had occurred in days gone by. Seyer[1] mentions that a century ago it is likely that some forty or fifty of these chronicles still remained in the possession of Bristol families of long standing, of which about twenty had passed under his own inspection. Others had perished, a portion of one was recovered after having been formed into a thread-paper, part of another descended in the case of a sky-rocket in a garden near the historian's house. In his opinion the originals were probably the registers kept by the inmates of religious houses in the borough, which had been used and re-used, altered and extended, according to the taste or fancy of the different compilers. For instance, a comparison of this Chronicle with that of Ricart shows that though with regard to the older entries there seems to be some common source underlying the accounts given in both, yet it is certain that Adams is quite independent of Ricart.

Of William Adams, by whom this Chronicle was "collected and written," nothing seems to be known. He tells us that he was present at the Proclamation of King James on March 26th, 1603, and the latest event recorded is the death of Charles I on January 30th, 1648. The writing of the Chronicle seems to have commenced in 1623, at which date Adams reckoned that 5583 or 5822 years had elapsed since the Creation. The Chronicle closes with the year 1639, under which date are given the names of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Bristol, and a long account of His Majesty's Ship *Sovereigne*, built at Woolwich in 1637. The cause of the cessation of entries between 1639 and 1648 can only

[1] *Memoirs of Bristol*, § 9.

be a matter of conjecture ; there was no lack of incidents well worthy of record in Bristol during that period. The name of *Samuel Sandys*, 1749, is inscribed on the fly-leaf of the volume, marking no doubt the name of its possessor at that time ; the name also of Joseph Harford appears on the same leaf. He was a member of the Town Council from 1779 to his death on October 11th, 1802. At the time when Mr. Seyer published his *Memoirs*, in 1821, the Chronicle belonged to Mr. Charles Joseph Harford, and it was purchased by Mr. F. F. Fox in 1907, on the dispersion of the library of the Rev. F. A. Harford, who was Minor Canon of Westminster from 1862 to 1906 ; so that the history of the Chronicle can be traced back to within a century after its completion.

Seyer states that this Chronicle is far the best of those which he had met with, and it is interesting to be able to trace with some certainty the method of its compilation. Under 1264 Adams relates that he had been a little troubled because having three men's writings before him he found that between 1237 and 1264 the years of the mayors disagreed. Also the first year of Henry III differed, Philip Jenkins, a coroner of the city, placing it in 1215, Thomas Kedgwin in 1217, and another writer in 1216. Under 1523 also he notes that he found much difference about the mayors of this time in one book, but two others agreed, so that he was uncertain which was truest. Thus we see that he depended on three older chroniclers, Jenkins, Kedgwin, and one not named. The chronicles of the two named writers certainly began as early as 1217, and extended nearly to Adams's own day, for Jenkins recorded the Proclamation of James I, at which Adams was present, and Kedgwin recorded events which happened in 1586, and also the fight of the *Revenge* under Sir Richard Grenville in 1591. Thus the Chronicle is to a considerable extent a compilation from compilations, and needs checking wherever it is possible to apply a check. Dates are of course frequently incorrectly given. At the same time it must be noted that Adams aimed at accuracy. He corrected Kedgwin's account of a fight which arose in Kingroad in 1586, when some Foresters tried to ship skins on to a French vessel in Kingroad, contrary to a monopoly held by some Bristol merchants : "Thomas Kedgwin wrote otherwise, but I know the matter better than he." Under 1542 he evidently copied a statement that "this year Temple fee was broken, and the whole city a corporation was made." Then he adds : "But this was done, I find, the year following." In fact, however, the petition to purchase Temple Fee and other property there belonging to the Hospitallers, with lands that had belonged to Lord Lisle, as given by Barrett, bears the date June 30th, 1544. Probably, as in other cases, Adams compared his authorities, and went with the majority. The

entries, therefore, can only be taken as authorities for what they are worth; probably, however, we should be safe in concluding in most cases that something of the sort happened somewhere about the time when the events are said to have occurred. In several cases, however, where he is giving an account of military expeditions or voyages which happened about his own time, the chronicler is careful to state that he is writing on good authority. Thus, with regard to Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Cadiz in 1596, he tells us: "I have seen a far better and longer description of this voyage, of which at this time I had no copy." In 1600 he tells us that he is using *the first copy that was printed* concerning the fighting in Flanders, and with regard to the fighting at Kinsale in 1601 he says that he had seen that place, and knew the fighting ground well; also that he had read a copy of one who was employed in the service. We may take it that Adams was a careful writer who had tried to be as accurate as possible in dealing with documents which cannot possibly have been absolutely accurate. It is abundantly clear that he did not use Ricart's Chronicle, for his dates and entries are quite independent of that authority; and this is curious, for Ricart's work is continued almost down to the time of Adams, and there are scattered entries even to the end of the seventeenth century. As a chronicler Adams was evidently careful, and as far as possible exact, making the best he could of indifferent materials. He was a strong Protestant, a Churchman, and a King's man, though it is possible that the trade exactions which he mentions under 1637 may have tried his loyalty and have silenced his Chronicle.

All those who are interested in the old history of Bristol will be grateful to Mr. Fox for this volume, which shows us what the old local chronicles really were at their best. It only remains to say that the book is admirably indexed, and is an excellent example of Bristol printing. The manuscript has been transcribed and the spelling modernised by Miss E. Salisbury, of the Record Office, and her work seems to have been well and carefully done.

BONIFACE OF CREDITON AND HIS COMPANIONS. By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, D.D., BISHOP OF BRISTOL. London: S.P.C.K. 1910. 6s.

THE Bishop of Bristol has added an account of the life and work of St. Boniface to his lives of the Venerable Bede, St. Aldhelm, St. Wilfrid, and Alcuin, and even in the company of those great Englishmen he well holds his own. It has been said—with no tone of exaggeration—

that St. Boniface was the greatest missionary of the Western Church except St. Paul. When the news of his death reached England, the bishops determined that there should be a yearly commemoration of his martyrdom on June 5th, and also that the Church of England desired that Boniface, who carried back the Gospel to the nations whence the English came, should be numbered with Gregory and Augustine, through whom the Gospel came hither, as its patrons at the throne of Christ.

But the book gives an account not only of St. Boniface, but of his companions too, and so it is that it is not an easy book to read. The stage is crowded with figures ever on the move: kings, queens, princesses, noblemen, and great ladies; ecclesiastics of many degrees and kinds, popes, bishops, priests, and deacons; Irish bishops and priests of doubtful Orders scorning authority; Frankish clergy, whose Orders were clear, but whose lives were unclean; English women, some earnest and devout, some, especially in continental cities, whose lives were a scandal to their sex and nation. And so the story works out its purpose: St. Boniface is always there, but it is not always easy to see him, or to trace his connection with the scene which is being unrolled. Again, the characters tell their story in letters many and manifold; but letter-writers are of more than one kind. To paraphrase an old line: *Spectatum scribunt, scribunt spectentur ut ipsæ*—"Some write that they may see more clearly, some write that they may themselves be seen," and these early letter-writers seem to be of the latter kind. Their letters are for the most part works of art, with not enough of art to conceal their artificiality. But for all that, the book does give a vivid account of the life and work of St. Boniface.

He was behind and beyond all things else a missionary. Born at the very time when the South Saxons, the last of the kingdoms of the English to acknowledge the Master, received the Gospel at the hands of St. Wilfrid, at the age of 38 he left his native land for ever, and for thirty-seven years he strove earnestly as a missionary. True, he was much besides a missionary: he was bishop and archbishop, a trusted friend of popes and rulers, a counsellor of men and women in all conditions of life; but in his hands all the threads of influence were woven into the cords of the Gospel net which should draw his heathen kinsmen into the kingdom of God. Nothing became him so well as the manner of his death. At about the age of 74 he laid aside his Archbishopric of Mainz, resigning it into the hands of Lul of Malmesbury; but he could not rest. Forty years before he had gone out to work among the Frisians, or men of Holland; but they were still heathen, and he would go once more. He was under no illusion, the journey was like that of St. Paul to *Tre Fontane*, one from which there could be

no return. His teachers went out through the country, and would bring in their candidates for baptism at Pentecost; but in the early morning of Whit-Sunday a band of heathen rushed upon the little Christian company and slew them all. There is still at Fulda a book containing fifteen treatises, among them two by St. Ambrose—"On the Holy Spirit" and "On the blessing of Death"; it is cut as with a sword, and stained as with blood, and either treatise might very well have been in the mind of the martyr when the heathen rushed upon him, for he knew his death could not be far off, and he would bestow the gift of the Holy Spirit in the Confirmation of the converts who would come to him.

Though the scene of the book is Germany, very many of the companions of St. Boniface were English, chiefly no doubt drawn from Wessex. Gloucester, however, is not unrepresented. In a letter referred to the years 716–20, Ecgburga mourns the death of her brother Oshere, most likely the leader, Dr. Browne tells us, who defeated the Pictish hosts in 710. Gloucestershire folks, mindful that the royal houses of the Northumbrians and Huiccians were closely connected, will think him to be Oshere brother of Osric and King of the Huiccians, and they will think also that Ecgburga herself was the lady who from 710 to 735 was Abbess of Gloucester. In this case it is likely that the letter itself was written from Gloucester. Another lady companion of St. Boniface, whose name has passed into world-wide fame, was Walpurga or Walpurgis, who with her brothers Willibald and Wunnibald, served under St. Boniface for many years. On her death she was canonised on May 1st, the great spring festival of heathendom; so she was regarded as a protectress against magic, and it is from her that the Walpurgis Nacht Dance takes its name. She was educated in the nunnery at Wimborne, but Dr. Browne does not connect her with the young nuns who danced upon the grave of a too-severe superior till where the mound had been was a cavity half a foot in depth.

To use a somewhat hackneyed phrase, St. Boniface was a great Englishman, and yet the story of his life and work is but little known amongst us; it is well, therefore, that the Bishop of Bristol has written this convenient little history. The book is well illustrated, and among others are pictures of relics still preserved at Fulda; the skull and pastoral staff and the book of the martyrdom may well be accepted, but it is difficult to see who was to vouch for the genuineness of the sword. A simple line map, showing the extent of the missions of St. Boniface and the sites of his cathedrals and minsters would have been very helpful; it is not easy to get these things easily and correctly from a modern map. There is a good index.

HANDBOOK OF THE DIVINE LITURGY. By CHARLES COWLEY CLARKE. With an Introduction by the Right Reverend GEORGE AMBROSE BURTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Clifton. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1910. 3s. 6d.

THIS little book gives an account of the Roman Mass as it is now in use, the teaching concerning its meaning and purpose being in accordance with that of the Council of Trent, later developments being sometimes noted, but not adopted. It consists of the Latin text of the Mass with a parallel translation in English; this is followed by four chapters: "The Divine Liturgy," "What the Mass is," "The Mass of Early Days," and "The Rise and Development of Liturgies"; then there follows a series of chapters extending over some seventy pages, which form an historical commentary on the various portions of the service. The first chapter is spoiled by a quantity of irrelevant controversial matter, the use of which is not apparent; it cannot be helpful to those of the Roman obedience for whom the book is in the first place intended, and it will not prove attractive to others; but anyone who begins with Chapter II, "What the Mass is," will find the book most helpful as enabling him to understand the service which under slightly different forms was the Communion Office of the English people for nearly a thousand years. Of course, however, it must be remembered that the English Church always used its own Service Books, the Roman form of the Mass never had any authority in the Church of England. Whatever view anyone may take of the nature of that service which in the first English Prayer Book of Edward VI was entitled, "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," he will discover little to find fault with in the historical portion of the book beginning with the chapter on "The Mass of Early Days;" rather he will find a very clear and careful account of the history and development of that service in the Western Church.

Very possibly we may not be able to go with the author all the way at all points. For instance, it would be difficult to give proof for the statement that the Council of Nicæa added to the first verse of the "Gloria Patri" the words, "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be." Again, the statement that "from the days of St. Gregory to those of the monks and friars of the Middle Ages preaching practically ceased" would not hold good of the old Church of England. A canon of the time of King Edgar ran thus: "And we enjoin that priests, every Sunday, preach to the people, and always set a good example," while § 47 of Alfric's Pastoral Epistle, dating from about the end of the tenth century began: "The Mass-priest shall rightly preach the true faith to men, and recite sermons to them." It would

not be difficult to multiply orders of this kind.[1] Furthermore, Ælfric wrote two series of homilies for the use of unlearned clergy, which were approved by Archbishop Sigeric. Somewhat earlier than these is a heterogeneous collection of discourses known as the Blickling Homilies. No doubt in mediæval times, when the hosts of preachers were multiplied, it became needful to regulate and limit a freedom which was passing into license by such ordinances as Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1408, and during the Reformation period one of the first objects of the party in power at the moment was to muzzle the pulpit. The saying attributed by St. Ambrose to St. Lawrence is wrongly quoted on page 101. St. Sixtus was being led away to martyrdom, and St. Lawrence pleaded that he too might pass with his bishop : "Whither art thou hastening, holy priest, without thy deacon ? Thou wast never wont to offer sacrifice without a minister. What hast thou found displeasing in me, oh, my father—that to him to whom thou didst entrust the offering of the blood of the Lord, and fellowship in the celebration of the sacraments, thou dost deny fellowship in the offering of thine own blood ? "[2] The deacon would join in the offering of the high priest.

With regard to the vexed question of the *Epiklesis* in the Western Church, the conclusion arrived at seems to be that the invocation that the holy gifts may be changed by the Holy Spirit into the Body and Blood of Christ is not primitive, that it grew up in the East before the time of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and that it is represented in the West, not by the prayer "*Veni Sanctificator*," but rather by the prayer "Quam Oblationem" within the Canon. Concerning points of ritual, it is held that incense was probably used in the fifth century in processions and round the altar enclosure, but that it was not used to honour the altar itself and assistants at the sacrifice till the ninth century ; while the elevation, adoration, and ringing of a bell after the consecration began not before the twelfth century. It is stated that in the time of Pius V (1506)—really 1566–72—the "Last Gospel" *In Principio* was finally introduced into the Missal ; but it is to be noted that in the Sarum Missal quoted by Maskell, which was printed at Rouen in 1492, the service ends with the words : "*Sacerdos vero in redeundo dicat Evangelium* In Principio." Here the direction to use the last Gospel seems to be imperative. With regard to the commencement of the service, the use of the 42nd Psalm was not obligatory before the Council of Trent, and the Benediction after the "*Ite Missa est*" cannot be shown to have existed in the first ten centuries.

The book is prefaced by a short Commendatory Introduction, written by the Bishop of Clifton.

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 400, 462.
[2] St. Ambrose, *De Officiis Ministrorum*, i. 41.

THE CHURCH PLATE OF RADNORSHIRE. By J. I. EVANS, Rector of Stow-on-the-Wold, etc. Stow-on-the-Wold: James H. Alden. 1910. £1 1s.

The Rector of Stow-on-the-Wold, who so kindly worked out the church plate of Gloucestershire for our Society a short time ago, has since fulfilled the same good office for Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, and Radnorshire, districts which lie for the most part in the great Diocese of St. David's. Any hope that the remoteness of the county would preserve ancient plate is disappointed, for only five pieces of plate date from before the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, twenty-two date from the seventeenth century, fourteen from the eighteenth, and fifty-six since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is likely that in early days poverty was the chief cause of loss, though in later times it is probable that the destruction of ancient plate has been most frequent in the wealthiest and most petted parishes—not to their credit. Of the fifty-six pieces which are later than 1800, only five are earlier than 1850, so that actually more than half the plate in the shire is less than half a century old. Few great movements bring unmixed good, and though no doubt the restoration movement of the last century brought some fresh plate into churches where it was sadly needed, it is to be feared that it led to more replacement of ancient plate by pieces of a modern type. It is noted that two pieces of plate survive which date from the time of the Commonwealth, but there is no reason for thinking that that period was one of destruction of plate, though no doubt a cross or an inscription obnoxious to Puritan ideas might have led to destruction.

But the book gives a good deal of information with regard to the ecclesiastical antiquities of Radnorshire apart from the church plate. An appendix contains copies of the Chantry Reports of 1548. Some twenty parishes contained foundations of one kind or another, many of them for lights, or stocks of money or cattle, for lending out to the parishioners, besides the foundations for saying masses, or for the support of chantries. But they were all swept alike into the royal treasury, to the ruin of the poor people who had been helped by them. Mr. Evans gives next a list of the transcripts of parish registers pertaining to Radnorshire, which are still preserved in the diocesan registers at Carmarthen and Hereford; this list ought to be very useful to all who are interested in old Radnorshire, though it is sad to note that not a single copy dates from before 1660. A list which will be of interest to Gloucestershire folk is that of the church bells in Wales which were cast at the Rudhalls' foundry at Gloucester between 1684 and 1830. In all there are 412 bells, distributed, as it would seem, all over Wales

except Anglesea, the heaviest ring being one of ten bells with a tenor of 25 cwt. cast for Wrexham Church between 1715 and 1751. The list is a compilation from various sources, and does not claim to be complete.

The essay by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, of France Lynch, on "The Primitive Saints of Radnorshire," is really a valuable contribution to the early history of the district. There was of course no shire of Radnor before November 1st, 1536, when by Act of Parliament Wales was portioned out into twelve shires, and provision was made for the creation of six hundreds in the shire of Radnor. Sixteen lordships, townships, parishes, cymwds, and cantrevs were assigned to form the shire of Radnor, and Mr. Wade-Evans shows as far as possible how these ancient units were sorted out into the later hundreds. The writer, however, seems to ignore that portion of Offa's Dyke which lies south of Bridge Sollars, yet its course may be distinctly traced near St. Briavel's in Gloucestershire.

There is a very interesting discussion concerning the dedications of the churches. The shire is regarded as being divided into three districts: *Elvael*, to the south of Radnor Forest; to the north of it *Gwrtheyrnion*, west of the *Ieithon* river, and *Maeliennyd* to the east of that stream. It is noted that it was not till the eighth century that churches were dedicated in names other than those of their founders.[1] First, then, all churches are omitted except those which bear primitive Welsh names, and these are grouped under the three geographical divisions named. It is then found that *David* dedications are absent or subordinate north of Radnor Forest, where the Cardigan dedications in the names of *Padarn* and *Cynllo* are conspicuous; while the Cardigan dedications are almost absent from Radnor Forest and the south of the county, but *David* dedications are found in Upper Elvael, and *Teilo* has a single church. These saints—*Padarn, David,* and *Teilo*—are the local saints of the three great monasteries of *Llanbadarn Vawr*, near Aberystwyth, *Menevia*, and *Llandaff;* and it is suggested that the dedications in their names are not original, but that they mark the limits of a strife for extension of influence on the part of these great monasteries from about the eighth century. These siftings out leave but few original dedications, mostly obscure with North Welsh affinities. St. Harmon's, however, bears the name of Germanus of Auxerre, of *Hallelujah Victory* fame, who is said to have prayed and fasted for forty days on a rock at this place with all the clergy of the Britons, against the adulterous King Vortigern, about A.D. 430. In later times the church possessed a miraculous staff, which

[1] Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 203.

healed scrofulous diseases on the offering of one penny; halfpennies and unfulfilled promises availed little or nothing.

There is a certain amount of pewter plate left in the shire, which Mr. Evans suggests should be transferred to the national museum of Wales. It cannot be said, however, that the few examples of church plate in the Taunton Museum look happy in their unfamiliar surroundings. The book is provided with an excellent index, and in these days of revived interest in the Welsh Church it should prove to be very useful.

WOODEN MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock.

This is a reprint of a paper which was read before the Society of Antiquarians on November 26th, 1908, and printed in *Archæologia*, vol. lxi. pp. 487–552. It seems that there are now existing in England and Wales ninety-three wooden effigies, found in sixteen counties, and mention is made of twenty-two more in eleven counties which have perished. The earliest wooden effigy of which record exists is that of Caducan, Bishop of Bangor, who died in 1225 as a monk at Abbey Dore; his effigy was still in existence there in good condition in 1786. The wooden effigy of Eleanor, Queen of Henry II, who died in 1204, is still at Fontevraud, and is believed to be a faithful likeness. It seems, however, that no wooden effigy in the district covered by Dr. Fryer's paper is of earlier date than 1250. One of the earliest figures is the well-known memorial of Robert, Duke of Normandy, which lies in the Presbytery of Gloucester Cathedral, before the high altar. He died in 1135, and Dr. Fryer puts the date of the effigy about 1280, or nearly a century and a half after the Duke's death. The effigy was broken up during the time of the Commonwealth, and afterwards repaired and replaced in the cathedral. From some peculiarities in the treatment of the mail which are found in stone effigies in the south-western counties, and especially in some knights at Bristol, it is thought that there was probably a school for the production of stone effigies at Bristol, and that it is likely that the effigy of the Duke at Gloucester was made in imitation of these.

The latest effigy mentioned by Dr. Fryer is that of George Oglander, at Brading in the Isle of Wight, which must have been fashioned about 1640. The figures thus range over a period of about four hundred years. But during this period there are two periods, one from about 1350 to 1415, and the other from about 1450 to 1508, during which no

surviving wooden effigies can be placed. Dr. Fryer suggests that the first gap may have been caused by the fact that the artificers of these figures had been killed out by the Black Death. Of course this may be so, but it is quite likely that both gaps in the series of effigies were caused simply by the destruction of figures which had been set up during these periods. With regard to the vexed question of portraiture, Dr. Fryer thinks that in some cases, such as in four figures of ecclesiastics, the figures are intended for likenesses, the features having been taken during lifetime, or possibly from the likeness in wax or fine plaster of the " living " picture of the deceased which was carried in the funeral procession. The book gives a careful description in the text of each of the existing effigies, and accounts as far as possible for those which have been destroyed ; and at the end is a Topographical Index arranged under counties of the persons represented, with a description of the effigies, and references to accounts of the figures. There are also thirty-five excellent reproductions of photographs of characteristic effigies. Dr. Fryer has done well in rescuing this paper from its honourable resting-place in the pages of *Archæologia*, and rendering it accessible to all who are interested in the subject.

In Memoriam.

RUSSELL JAMES KERR.

Russell James Kerr was born at Northampton, September 4th, 1832, educated at Uppingham and Rossall, and married to Miss Griffiths at Eastbourne September 4th, 1860. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1859, and joined the Midland Circuit, on which he practised regularly for some years. In 1875 he was appointed a magistrate for the County of Gloucester, and in 1879 was appointed Chairman of the Second Court of Quarter Sessions, ten years later becoming Chairman, retaining the position till 1904, when he resigned, and was presented by his brother magistrates with his portrait by F. Bramley, A.R.A., which now hangs in the Judges' Lodgings, Gloucester. He was Vice-Chairman of the County Council from its formation in 1888 to his retirement, 1904, Verderer of the Forest of Dean from 1894, Chairman of the Newnham Local Board, and its successor the Urban District Council, and a regular attendant at the Board of Guardians. Amongst many other public offices he was Trustee and Governor of the Gloucester Infirmary and a Severn Conservator. After the death of his father in 1878 he was rarely absent from home, taking an active interest in Church work and all other institutions for the benefit of his neighbours, taking that term in its widest sense, and he set an example of godly living, the influence of which will endure as long as the memories of those with whom he was brought into contact.

He became a member of our Society in its early days, and was President in 1893. During his term of office the Society visited Newnham in July. His presidential address is published in our *Transactions*, volume xviii, and a paper by him on the Borough and Manor of Newnham is also published in the same volume, for his archaeological interest lay principally in the history of places and persons living in or connected with Newnham.

When the fact of the celebration of his golden wedding became known to his fellow parishioners they subscribed for a handsome loving cup, which, with an address, was being prepared for presentation at the time of his sudden death in his home at the Haie, Newnham, on November 26th, 1910.

F. S. H.

J.W. Arrowsmith
Publishers
Bristol

THE FOREST OF DEAN IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CROWN DURING THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

By MARGARET LEY BAZELEY.

The aim of the present paper is to throw some light on the administrative relations of the Crown with the Forest of Dean, upon the profits derived from the Forest, and upon the position of the subject within its bounds (Sections II to IV). The first section will be devoted to a discussion of its extent, of the animals to be found in it, and of the more personal relations of the kings with the Forest as illustrated by royal visits. It is not proposed to enter into a description of the judicial system in force here and elsewhere, a subject fully treated in Mr. Turner's Introduction to the *Select Pleas of the Forest.* Nor is it proposed to deal with the purely economic side of the forest history, such as the working of the iron mines and the laws relating to them. This, too, has been treated elsewhere.[1] Here reference will only be made to such matters in as far as they affect the royal revenue or illustrate the rights of the subject.

I.

Extent.—In the reigns of Henry III and his son the Forest of Dean included roughly the whole of the triangular-shaped district between Gloucester, Chepstow and Ross.[2] At what period it reached this extent is a question to which very different answers were given even in the thirteenth

[1] Cf. *Q. V. Hist. of Glos.*, vol. ii. and H. G. Nicholls, *Iron Making in the Forest of Dean.*

[2] For the bounds in 1228, 1282 and 1300, *cf.* Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d.*; For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31 and 255.

century. It is quite impossible to pronounce a decision on the evidence forthcoming at the present day. But suggestions may perhaps be made.

Domesday Book is naturally our first authority. Domesday does not mention the Forest of Dean by name, but there are several allusions to a forest which undoubtedly represents it. The most important of these is made in connection with the lands of Dene (modern Micheldean, Littledean and perhaps Abenhall).[1] These lands, which lay on what is now the eastern boundary of the Forest of Dean, are said to have been granted by King Edward "quit of geld for the custody of the Forest."[2] There is no further specification of the district thus guarded in Anglo-Saxon times; but something may be gleaned as to its extent in 1066, and the additions made to it by William the Conqueror. In the first place, there is no trace of cultivated land within the area bounded roughly by the manors of Ruardean, St. Briavels, Lydney and Dean. All this must have been included in the Forest. Beyond this there is some scanty evidence as to its bounds on the north, west and east.

In the north we learn from the Herefordshire Domesday that the wood of Ross, "given under lands of the Church of Hereford," is in the king's forest (*in defensu regis*).[3] This must mean that it was included in Dean Forest, where it reappears at a later date as the "Bishop of Hereford's wood of Ros."[4] Concerning Clive, identified by Mr. J. H. Round with Cleeve, one mile south-west of Ross,[5] it is stated that "of this manor there is in the forest of King William as much land as T. R. E. rendered six sextars of honey and six sheep with their lambs."[6] In Brocote, which lay in the same hundred as Clive, but of which the modern equivalent is unknown, two and a half hides "were waste, and up to the present (*adhuc*) are in the king's wood."[7] Probably here, too, the

[1] *Cf.* Rev. C. S. Taylor, *Dom. Surv. of Glos.*, p. 25.
[2] f. 176*b*. [3] f. 182. [4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 8.
[5] *Q. V. Hist. of Herefordshire*, i. 313. [6] f. 179*b*. [7] f. 181.

reference is to Dean; there is no evidence for any other forest, now or later, in this part of Herefordshire. In the thirteenth century the Forest of Dean included roughly the Herefordshire district south of a line drawn from Gorstley Ford to Oldtown Court outside Ross, and east of a line from Oldtown to Goodrich. It would seem that the western portion at least of this district was already within the Forest in 1086.

There are three entries relating to lands on the western borders of the Forest. Under Brocote in Brooms Ash Hundred, it is stated that "Brichtric held one manor of one hide, and Earl Godwin held Stantune, one manor of one hide. They were waste, and up to the present are in the king's wood." The latter must represent the modern Stanton, included here instead of in the Gloucestershire Domesday.[1] Farther south "William de Ow held Wigheiete and Ralf de Limesi before him . . . Now it is by command of the king in his forest. There were six hides, and it paid geld, and was worth 60s. Now there is nothing but a fishery of 10s."[2] The manor, unlike that of Stanton, does not seem to have been reclaimed; but the name survives in Wygate Green, half-way between St. Briavels and Newland.[3] There is no other trace of cultivated land between St. Briavels and English Bicknor. There, at least, it would seem that the western boundary of the Forest touched the Wye.

The south-west boundary of Dean is less clearly marked. Hiwoldestone, the modern Hewelsfield,[4] "by the command of the king," we are told, "is in the Forest. It was worth 30s."[5] But there is no reference to the Forest in the entries relating to Ledenei (St. Briavels)[6] or to the manors in the angle of the Severn and Wye. A like silence meets us on the south. Nearly all the modern towns and villages on the northern bank of the Severn find their equivalent in Domesday,[7] but in no case is there any allusion to the

[1] f. 181; cf. *Q. V. Hist. of Herefordshire*, i. 319. [2] f. 166*b*.
[3] Cf. *Dom. Surv. of Glos.*, p. 209. [4] *Ibid.* p. 25. [5] f. 167.
[6] *Dom. Surv. of Glos.*, p. 321. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

Forest. There is nothing to show whether as yet they were included in it. It may be noticed that, with one exception, all the land expressly described elsewhere as lying in the Forest is wood or waste.

On the east, however, we hear of cultivated land within its area. "William FitzNorman," it is said, "holds Tatinton. There are six bordars with one plough. Added to that one virgate lies in the Forest and pays a rent of 12d." Tatinton is identified by Mr. Taylor with Little Taynton and Little Oakley.[1] It would seem clear from the entry that the main part of the manor lay outside the Forest, but, unless the additional virgate was at some distance from it, not far from the eastern border. To the south of Tatinton it is to be noticed that there is no sign of Flaxley, which must have been a later clearing in the Forest.

In the entries relating to Huntley and Newnham, one north the other south of the modern Flaxley, no allusion to the Forest is made. Yet other evidence would seem to show that the Forest extended at this time to the east of a line between the two. A charter of William I, which may be dated by the names of the witnesses as between 1078 and 1082, granted to the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester "Ham with the whole wood belonging to it (adjacente) next to Morton within the bounds of the Forest of Dean."[2] Domesday Book in the entry relating to "Hamme and Mortune," says nothing about the Forest, but states only that "the church (St. Peter's) had its hunting there in three hayes T. R. E. and T. R. W." It is not clear whether the hunting was still permitted in 1086. The manor has been identified with the modern parish of Churcham and its hamlets.[3] In the thirteenth century we hear sometimes of the Abbot of Gloucester's wood at Morton,[4] sometimes of his

[1] Cf. *Dom. Surv. of Glos.*, p. 202.

[2] Glouc. Cath. Lib., Fro. Reg. A, No. 66, and *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, ii. 186.

[3] *Dom. Surv. of Glos.*, p. 203.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 8; No. 29, m. 8.

wood of Bridewood,[1] but never of both in the same list. It seems possible, therefore, to conclude that they were identical, and that the modern Bridewood represents William's gift. If we may trust the words of the charter, the Forest already extended at this point to within eight miles of Gloucester. It may be conjectured that west of a line drawn roughly from Taynton to Walmore Common, all, or nearly all, the woods on this side of the Wye were included in the Forest, but that as yet the villages which lay between them had not been taken into it.

The extension of the Forest to the Severn on the south, to Gloucester on the east, to Newent and Ross on the north took place at some date before 1216. This is all that can be said with certainty. Contemporary evidence is of the scantiest description. The two chief authorities of the thirteenth century contradict each other. The perambulation of 1228 gives the wider bounds as those "from ancient times, that is before the time of King Henry, grandfather of King Henry, son of King John."[2]

The jurors in 1300 asserted that the whole of the Herefordshire portion, together with a large number of vills on the south and east, had been afforested by King John.[3] The names given include Hewelsfield, Alvington, Ailburton, Lydney, Boxe, Rodley (in Newnham), with their woods, and those of all the vills in the triangle between Newnham, Newent and Gloucester, except Rodley near Westbury and Minsterworth.

Which are we to believe? The correctness of the perambulation of 1300 is disputed in two documents[4]

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2*d*, No. 31.

[2] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d*.

[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 255; Gloucestershire part printed in *Glouc. Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. part i. No. 77.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 284; Chanc. Misc., bdl. 12, No. 45. The first of these appears from internal evidence to be of the date of Edward I. *Cf.* "ex dono regis nunc" with charter of Edw. I to Tintern, *ibid.*, No. 30, m. 31.

drawn up shortly after. For the most part the authors content themselves with the unproved assertion that the vills in question were ancient demesne, or that they were included in the Forest at an earlier date. That drawn up in the leet before the foresters in fee, apparently in the early years of Edward II, contains several obvious mistakes. The other, which is headed, "Errores perambulationis in foresta de Dene," is somewhat more successful. It quotes the perambulation of 1228, and it brings Domesday to witness that the wood of Ross was "in defensu regis" in 1086. It does not add, as it might, the Domesday statement that Hewelsfield, too, was in the Forest by King William's command. The carelessness of the jurors of 1300 in thus assigning to King John the recorded work of the Conqueror inspires us with considerable distrust. The distrust is deepened by their own confession that they based their verdict on tradition and hearsay. That the exact number and names of the vills afforested a century earlier should have been accurately handed down by word of mouth is unlikely in the extreme. Some of the vills in question may have been added to the Forest by King John. But if so, it is curious that the jurors of 1228 knew nothing of what must have happened in their own lifetime. The presumption is at least in their favour. Such slight contemporary evidence as may be found seems to point to an earlier date than the reign of John as that at which some at least of the additions in question had been made. The amercement of the vill of Ailburton for waste in the first year of John,[1] points to the probability that Ailburton Wood already formed part of the Forest under his predecessors. Allusions to other of the vills in question appear at a much earlier date in the Pipe Rolls in connection with forest offences. Natives of Lydney, Blaisdon[2] and Huntsham[3] were fined for injury to the vert in the latter years of Henry II. Thomas of Huntley and Arnulf of Boxe were "in

[1] Pipe Roll, 1 John. [2] *Ibid.*, 31 Hen. II. [3] *Ibid.*, 33 Hen. II.

mercy" for forest offences in 1176. Walter of Huntley had been a forest official long enough to incur a fine for losing the roll of the regard in 1200.[1] In the thirteenth year of Henry II many of these villages are included in a list of those fined in the eyre of Alan de Neville, chief justice of the forest, but the cause of the fine is not specified. Such evidence as the foregoing does not, of course, prove that the villages named were already included in the Forest, but it makes it at least probable.

A charter granted by Henry II to the Abbey of St. Peter before 1171[2] seems to point in the same direction. It confers on the abbey the Manor of Rodley, common throughout the whole Forest of Dean, and liberty to hold their wood of Sudrugg outside the regard and defence with the right to assart at will.[3] In an inquisition of 1532–3 the wood of Sundrugge is described as belonging to the Manor of "Ruddille."[4] Thus, if we may trust our evidence, Rodley Wood was within the Forest in the middle of Henry II's reign. But after all, the best evidence that the inclusion of most if not all of these districts had already taken place in the twelfth century is to be found in the assertion of the jurors in 1228.

Whether we can agree with them in assigning the extension to an earlier date than 1154 is another matter. Only two pieces of doubtful evidence remain. The Abbey of St. Peter claimed in the sixteenth century that the rights granted by Henry II, in connection with Rodley, together with the wood of Hopemansel, to take and waste at will, had been previously granted by Henry I.[5] This, if true, would point to the conclusion that both woods were in the Forest

[1] Pipe Roll, 1 John.

[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2*d*. The charter is witnessed by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1171.

[3] For. Proc., No. 28, m. 2*d*.

[4] Cf. *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glos.*, ii. 187.

[5] *Ibid.*, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 32; but the charter seems to be a forgery. *Cf.* Mr. Hall's *Studies in Historical Documents*, p. 223.

before 1154. On the other hand, there remains a charter of Henry II to Roger of Hereford, about 1155, granting to him the fee of Milo and all the demesne of Henry I between the Severn and the Wye in Gloucestershire, including Dymoc, Minstreworth, Redlen[1] and Aure, but excepting the vill of Newnham, the Forest of Dean and the Castle of St. Briavels.[2] The wording of the charter would seem to suggest that even Newnham was not included in the Forest, though it is possible that the "Forest of Dean" is here considered in reference to the special rights and profits attached to it, rather than in relation to any particular vill within it. In the absence of proof more direct than the assertion of the jurors some three-quarters of a century later, it is impossible to free Henry II altogether from the responsibility for the wide afforestations of the period. They are at least as likely to have been his work as that of Henry I. More than this it is impossible to say.

In the thirteenth century the Forest tended to diminish rather than to increase, partly by encroachments upon it and partly by disafforestation. If we are to believe the evidence of the next generation, it was in the early years of Henry III that the Earl Marshal made good his attempt to withdraw the land in the angle of the Severn and Wye from the Forest. The "Verdict of the Three Foreign Hundreds" states that "Sir William Marshall, senior, made a warren and chase at Thudeham to the injury of the Forest, by what warrant it is unknown. And it was always wont to belong to the Forest until the coronation of the lord king who now is."[3] According, however, to the jurors of 1228, the Earl Marshal "has his warren from ancient times, called the warren of Tudeham, and it is in the Forest aforesaid (Dene), and he can take *co-opertum* whatever venison he finds."[4]

[1] Apparently Rodley in Westbury-on-Severn.

[2] *Rep. on Dig. of a Peer*, vol. v. app. v.

[3] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

[4] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d*.

The exact relation of Tidenham Chase to the Forest remains doubtful throughout the century. On the one hand, it is included without explanation within the metes and bounds of the Forest laid down in 1282.[1] On the other, a clear distinction is made between the Forest and the Earl's chase in the Eyre Rolls. In that of 1282 it is stated that John of Newent, riding forester of the Earl Marshal in his chase of Tudeham, is wont to come into the Forest with many others and take the venison and return to the chase aforesaid, where he cannot be attached, because it is outside the county.[2] In 1268 inquisition was made as to "who diverted the course of the water of Cover, by which were wont to be known the metes and bounds between the Forest of Dene and the land and demesne of Roger le Bygod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, from Tudeham and its right and ancient course."[3] The chase was not included within the metes and bounds said to be in use in 1300.[4]

This was not the only loss to the Forest in the early part of the century. To the west of Stanton, in a bend of the Wye, a certain wood called Hodenack, belonging to John of Monmouth, had been granted to him by King John to enclose and to make it a park.[5] In 1228 the enclosure had not yet taken place. Fifty years later the "chase of Hodenac" is said to be "without the Forest."[6]

In the loop of the Wye above the modern Symonds Yat the inhabitants had not waited for permission. The regarders in 1282 stated that "the vill of Huntsham has been withdrawn from the Forest, and the men of that vill do not appear before the steward nor the verderers at the holding of inquisitions, and they have even failed to appear before the justice at their justice seat."[7] No attempt to bring them to reason is recorded.

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 9*d*. *Cf.* also No. 28, m. 3*d*, and No. 29, m. 7*d*.

[3] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 39. [4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 255.

[5] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d*.

[6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec.. No. 30, m. 7*d*. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 31.

In the north the Bishop of Hereford obtained from Henry III, in 1260, the disafforestation of his wood of Penyard.[1] The wood in question was probably that now known as Penyard Park, not the chase of the same name. Already in 1228 the Bishop of Hereford had "his chase from ancient times in a certain wood called Laxpeniard, within the aforesaid Forest."[2]

Agitation for a much more extensive disafforestation was going on throughout the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. In 1219 orders were issued for a perambulation of the forests in various counties, including Gloucestershire,[3] in accordance with the charter of the Forest granted two years earlier. All parts afforested by John were to be disafforested. There is no evidence to show whether this was ever carried out as far as Dean Forest was concerned; but a fresh order in 1225[4] was apparently obeyed, with unsatisfactory results from the king's point of view. In 1227 the Sheriff of Gloucester, among others, was directed to inquire into the parts which had been wrongly disafforested.[5] The perambulation of 1228[6] was probably made in obedience to this direction. It gives as the metes and bounds of the Forest of Dene from before the time of Henry II Gloucester Bridge, Newent, Gorstley Stream, Bromeshaff (Brooms Ash), Aleton (Alton, near Ross), the Wye, Chepstow Bridge. But it declares that all the woods on the south-east side of the Severn, with one exception, were afforested by Henry II. An order was accordingly issued for the disafforestation of these last.[7] It was not until 1277 that directions for a fresh perambulation in Gloucestershire, together with seventeen other counties, were extorted from the king.[8] Even then, in Dean at least, nothing seems to have been done. Its metes as described by the regarders in 1282 follow exactly

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 12*d*.

[2] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d*. [3] Rot. Lit. Claus., vol. i. 434*b*.

[4] Pat. Roll, 9 Hen. III, m. 17*d*. *Cf*. Bigland, *Hist. of Glos*., p. 457.

[5] Close Roll, 11 Hen. III, m. 5*d*. [6] *Ibid*., 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d*.

[7] *Ibid*., m. 6. [8] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. cii.

those of 1228.[1] In 1297 justices were again appointed to perambulate the forests of Gloucestershire,[2] but their work, if ever performed,[3] produced no results. A new order[4] obtained two years later was more successful. The perambulation of 28 Edward I[5] excluded nearly half of the total area of Dean Forest as defined in 1282. The record of it is in two parts, dealing respectively with the Herefordshire and the Gloucestershire portions. The first of these describes the north-west boundary of the Forest, as it then stood, in much the same terms as those used in 1228 and 1282. It then gives a list of all the vills in this part of Herefordshire afforested by King John, and ends by asserting that no part of the Forest of Dean was in that county before the reign of Henry II.

The Gloucestershire perambulation follows the same plan. First it describes the bounds in use, much as in the two earlier perambulations, with the exception that it excludes the Herefordshire portion described elsewhere and the lands of the Earl Marshal in the south-west. Next it gives a list of the manors afforested by King John.[6] Lastly, it gives in great detail the "ancient and right bounds" as they stood at the accession of Henry II. This section alone contains some seventy names, many of which it is now impossible to identify. Roughly, it excluded from the Forest, in addition to the Herefordshire portion, the following districts: all the land in the angle of the Severn and Wye south-west of Brockwear's Brook and Cone Brook, Alvington, Ailburton, Lydney and Purton, with their woods; all the district east of Micheldean, Abenhall, Flaxley and Newnham, except certain lands north of Westbury, stretching

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31. [2] Pat. Roll, 25 Edw. I, m. 3.

[3] Rudder, *Hist. of Glos.*, app. 2, gives a list of vills declared *circa* 25 Edw. I to have been afforested after 1154, but gives no authority.

[4] Pat. Roll, 25 Edw. I, m. 9. [5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 255.

[6] The list contains far fewer names than that given by Rudder as of 25 Edw. I; but the latter says only that the vills were afforested after 1154.

eastward from Flaxley to the Severn. If the "Piper's Grove" mentioned in the perambulation be that in Highnam, it would seem that Rodley in Westbury and Minstreworth, which are not included in the list of manors afforested by John, were also allowed to remain in the Forest; but it has been impossible to identify satisfactorily the place-names in this region.

The perambulation of 1300 was confirmed by Edward in the following year.[1] Four years later this, with other disafforestations, was annulled, under a dispensation from Clement V.[2] In 1307 we find Kilcot Wood again included in the Forest;[3] in 1324 Hopemansel and Bridewood also are treated as belonging to it.[4] In 1327 the perambulations of 1300 were confirmed anew by Edward III.[5] It was not until the reign of Charles I that a fresh attempt was made to restore to the Forest of Dean its wider bounds. Yet the tradition of them long persisted. Their reproduction in the "Miners' Laws,"[6] ascribed in one MS. to the reign of Edward III, might indeed incline us to agree with the late Mr. Nicholls in assigning an earlier date to this document.[7] But Leland two centuries after writes: "As soon as I passed over the Arme of Severne at the West End of Gloucester I entered into the Forrest of Dene, the which thence downeward alonge Severne unto the Mouth of Wye River (where it goeth into Severne) and on the other part again from Monmouth to the Poynt of Wye is divided from Wales by the left ripe of Wye River."[8] As late as 1714, after many vicissitudes, it was still possible to include all Gloucestershire between the Severn and the Wye in the Forest of Dean.[9]

[1] Pat. Roll, Supp. No. 6*a*.

[2] Cf. *Rymer Foed*, i. 978 and *Ord. Foreste, Stat. at Large*, i. 306.

[3] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 97. [4] *Cal. Close*, 17 *Edw. II*, p. 70.

[5] *Stat. of the Realm*, i. 255.

[6] Printed in Rev. H. G. Nicholls' *Iron Making in the Forest of Dean*, pp. 71–82.

[7] *Forest of Dean*, p. 13.

[8] From *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii. p. 246.

[9] Abel Warner, *Hist. of Glos. from Furney MSS.*, vol. iv., Bodleian Library.

Beasts of the Forest.—Of the beasts of the Forest, fallow deer seem here as elsewhere to have formed the majority. Between eight hundred and nine hundred bucks and does are mentioned in grants of venison alone. Gifts of red deer were less common, some two hundred head in all appearing on the Close Rolls of the period. Eleven entries only have been found relating to the roe. Of these five are gifts, representing a total of thirty-four head; and six are cases of unlawful capture, presented in the eyre of 1282.[1] Either roes were scanty, or they were not thought to be worth removing. In wild boars, the Forest seems to have been unusually rich, to judge from some sixty entries in the Close Rolls and Pipe Rolls. A letter close of John directs that the Forest be agisted on the skirts, not in the middle, or in the places where the wild boars congregate.[2] Under Henry III large numbers were frequently provided for the entertainment of the Court on feast days. Thus on one occasion orders were issued for the capture of twenty boars in the Forest of Dean, so that the king might have eight or ten of them at Westminster for the Feast of St. David.[3] On another occasion twenty boars and sixty wild sows were sent to him "against the Feast of the Nativity."[4] As many as one hundred boars and wild sows were ordered for the king's Christmas dinner in 1254.[5] Under Edward I references to the wild boar become less frequent. Perhaps Edward preferred to get his boars from other forests. Perhaps the heavy demands of Henry III had seriously reduced the stock in Dean. An order, as early as 1247, that the king's huntsmen be not allowed to take any more boars[6] would seem to show some transitory qualms on the subject. In any case, the boar appears only some half dozen times after 1261.

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 6, 8, 9, 11*d*, 13 bis.

[2] 18 John, m. 1. [3] Close Roll, 33 Hen. III, m. 3.

[4] Pipe Roll, 42 Hen. III, Glouc. Comp. of R. Walerand.

[5] Close Roll, 39 Hen. III, part i. m. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*, 31 Hen. III, m. 14.

Only one entry has been found relating to it in the Eyre Roll of 1270,[1] and none in that of 1282.

Besides the four beasts of the Forest proper, the cat and the wolf were still to be found. Richard Talbot was given leave to hunt them throughout the Forest of Dean in 1281 on condition that he did not take the king's venison or course in the warrens of others.[2] At an earlier date Gilbert Talbot had dogs in the Forest for coursing wolves and hares without warrant.[3] On the wolves he seems to have made little impression. In 1281 the Abbot of Gloucester's wood at Hope Mansel, within a mile or two of the Talbot manor of Longhope, was still one of their favourite haunts. "As well wolves, as injurers of the venison frequently return for the venison and stay in the said wood, on account of the thickness thereof."[4] There are three allusions to the slaughter of deer by wolves in the Eyre Roll of 1282.[5]

Royal Visits.—It is not easy to see how much personal satisfaction the Norman and early Plantagenet kings derived from the pursuit of venison in Dean. Some information as to their visits may be gained from the attestation to charters and letters patent and close, from allusions in the chronicles and entries on the Pipe Rolls. But silences are long, and in the earlier period at least no argument can be drawn from them.

William the Conqueror appears to have visited it more than once, if we may thus interpret the chronicler's words, "*Rex autem Gulielmus erat in Dana silva ibique pro more venatui vacabat.*"[6] William certainly chose a strange time for his hunting party on the particular occasion recorded.[7] It was in 1069, when the Danes, after four attempts on the

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 4*d*.
[2] Pat. Roll, 9 Edw. I, m. 23.
[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 8*d*.
[4] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 119.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 6, 8*d*, 10.
[6] Ord. Vit., 513*c*. [7] *Ibid.*

east coast, had at last secured a landing in the Humber and had marched on York. The fact that the king could still be disporting himself on the western borders of England seems to attest the excellence of the hunting.

We have no proof that the Conqueror's son inherited his devotion to Dean Forest. There is no evidence to show that William Rufus ever indulged his reckless love of the chase here, though it is likely enough, in view of his frequent visits to Gloucester. Henry I seems to have been in the Forest once, at any rate. A charter granting one-tenth of the venison taken in the Forest of Dean, conferred by him on the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, was attested by Robert FitzHamon at Newnham.[1] It may reasonably be concluded that this was the royal manor of Newnham-on-Severn, on the borders of the Forest, if not actually within it at the time. The visit must have taken place before 1107, the date of Robert FitzHamon's death. Another charter of Henry I, attested at Newnham by Roger the Chancellor and Eudo the Steward,[2] conferring freedom from tolls upon the abbey, may have been granted on the same occasion, or may represent another visit. Roger of Salisbury, if this be the official named, was Chancellor in 1101-2, and again perhaps in 1106–7.[3] The evidence as to date, therefore, is indecisive. It is unlikely, however, that two charters to the same house, attested by different witnesses, should have been granted on the same occasion.

There are no records of any visit by Stephen, who lost his hold on the Forest early in the civil war. Henry II seems to have regarded the Forest mainly from a financial point of view. There is some evidence, however, for visits in 1158, 1164–5 and 1179. A charter to Richard de Luci, attested at Newnham by Thomas the Chancellor and others, is ascribed by Eyton to the first of these dates.[4] In the Pipe Roll of 11 Henry II there appears a charge of 5s. 9d. "pro

[1] *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, ii. 301. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. p. 34.
[3] Cf. *D. N. B.*, *sub. nom.* [4] *Itin. of Hen. II*, p. 38.

lardario regis portando" from St. Briavels to Marlborough. In 1179 there is a charge of 39s. 1d. for taking the king's venison from Bikenaur to Winchester.[1] Giraldus relates an incident which took place "*cum rex* (*Henry II*) *apud forestum de Dene curiis venationis indulgeret et in villa de Newnham pernoctaret,*"[2] but gives no clue to its date. Possibly this was yet another visit. A hunting expedition in the Forest must have been an obvious diversion after the frequent and futile Welsh campaigns which brought Henry to the great highway along its southern border. Richard I seems to have been too busy in other parts of the world to visit his Forest beyond the Severn. If he did, no record remains. But Dean was a favourite hunting ground with John. He paid it six visits in all—in 1200, 1207, 1209, 1212, 1213, 1214.[3] A letter close of November 13th, 1207, gives directions as to the purchase of wine, some good and some "dispensabile," for despatch to St. Briavels and Tewkesbury against the king's coming. John's visits all took place in November or December. Henry III seems to have visited the Forest chiefly in the summer months. Thus he was at St. Briavels on August 6th, 1226,[4] and from June 20th to 22nd, 1229.[5] In 1232 he was there from December 16th to 18th, passing on to Chepstow, where he dated letters on the 20th.[6] After this his visits seem to have been rarer, but he was, or intended to be, at St. Briavels on the Thursday after St. James's Day, 1256. A letter close to the constable, a week or two before, directed him to take four kids in the Forest, and have them ready for the king at the castle on that date.[7] On July 27th he was at Flaxley.[8] This is the last royal visit of which traces have been found in the period under discussion.

[1] *Itin. of Hen. II*, pp. 76, 225.
[2] *Gir. Camb.* ed. Brewer, vol. iv. p. 221.
[3] Hardy, *Itin. of King John* and *Flax. Cart.*
[4] Pat. Roll, 10 Hen. III. [5] *Ibid.*, 13 Hen. III.
[6] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, m. 15.
[7] *Ibid.*, 40 Hen. III, m. 6. [8] *Ibid.*

The Forest does not appear in the *Itinerary of Edward I.* Though he must have passed it often enough, he seems to have been too busy to find time for sport in it, at any rate for more than the briefest of seasons.

No doubt there were many occasions, more especially in the twelfth century, when the king's hunting has left no record; but even so, it is unlikely that the Forest of Dean should have derived its primary importance from its character as a royal playground. Almost from the first, its main value must have lain in the financial opportunities which it afforded to the Crown.

II.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FOREST.

It is not until a century and a half after the Norman Conquest that the outlines of the administrative system can be clearly discerned. In the early years of Henry III it appears that the Forest is in the charge of four distinct classes of officials under the general supervision of the justice of the forest south of Trent. At the head stands the warden, who is also constable of the Castle of St. Briavels. He is appointed by the Crown for a term of years or during pleasure. His duties are usually performed by a deputy warden appointed by him. More or less subordinate to the warden are the foresters-in-fee, nine in number, local landowners, each in charge of a distinct part of the Forest forming his bailiwick. Side by side with them are the sergeants-in-fee, also holding office by hereditary right, but with duties not restricted to any special part of the Forest. Below the foresters and sergeants-in-fee, and dependent either upon them or upon the warden, are the ordinary foresters and boys, removable at will. Apart from these officials stand the verderers and regarders, officers chosen under the supervision of the sheriff, and intended to act as a check on the warden and his subordinates in the interests of the Crown.

Such, roughly, is the system of administration when we are able to describe it with any degree of certainty. Its main features may, perhaps, be traced back to the reign of Richard I, possibly even to that of Henry II, but beyond that it is hard to penetrate. How much of this organisation existed before 1154? Was there under the Norman kings any one official equivalent to the later warden, responsible for the whole Forest? Or was the management of the Forest entrusted to different officials of lesser rank, each responsible directly and solely to the king? If so, what were these officials and how far did their duties extend? All these are questions which can only be answered with uncertain voice. The administrative relations of the Forest with the Crown up to 1154 must be mainly conjectural, in view of the scantiness of the evidence available. One or two remarks in Domesday Book, a couple of allusions in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, a little information gleaned from early charters, these are all the data we have to go upon.

That the Forest was a royal preserve in later Anglo-Saxon times, and that at least one local official was charged with duties in regard to it, is clear from the Domesday entry relating to the lands of Dene. It runs thus: "The same William (FitzNorman) holds in Dene 2 hides and 2 virgates and a half. Three thegns Godric, Elric and Ernui held them T. R. E. In demesne are 3 teams. There are 38 bordars owning 7 teams and a half, and three of them pay 8 shillings. It was worth 33 shillings, now 44 shillings. King Edward granted these lands quit of geld for keeping the Forest."[1] From a comparison of the acreage, it would seem probable that the lands here mentioned included at least the modern parishes of Micheldean, Littledean and Abenhall.[2] The last of these lies between the two former, and it is likely enough that the absence of any reference to it by name may be accounted for by its inclusion in the adjoining lands.

It seems clear that the obligation of special service in

[1] f. 167*b*. [2] Rev. C. S. Taylor, *Dom. Surv. of Glos.*, p. 204.

regard to the Forest continued in Norman times to rest upon the successors of the Domesday holder of Dene. William of Dene, who had come into some at least of William FitzNorman's lands, was confirmed in his "ministry of the Forest of Dene" in the later years of Stephen.[1] At some time before 1130 the financial responsibility for the Forest also passed into the hands of the FitzNorman family. In that year we find Hugo, son of William FitzNorman, accounting for £13, the profits of the Forest of Dene and of the Hayes of Hereford.[2] That he farmed the revenues, and did not merely pay in what he had collected, seems clear from the fact that £10 and £3 remained long after the respective sums at which the firms of the Forest and of the Hayes of Hereford were fixed. How far the duties of the holder of the Dene lands extended beyond responsibility for the firm and some sort of custody there is little evidence to show. St. Briavels Castle, which makes its first appearance on the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, and which was later closely connected with the Forest administration, does not seem to have been in his hands. A sum of £14 5s. 7d. for wages of the sergeant, janitor and watch of the Castle is credited in that year direct to the sheriff, Milo of Gloucester. Nor is there any proof that he was held responsible, as were the later wardens, for the execution of royal orders relating to the Forest. A charter of Henry I, conferring a tithe of the venison taken in the forests of the province on the Abbey o St. Peter at Gloucester, is addressed to "all foresters, hunters and bowmen in that part of Severn and Dene."[3] Charters of Henry I and Stephen, granting to the same church warren in its lands beyond the Severn, some of which lay within the Forest,[4] are addressed to the sheriff and all the barons, French and English, of Gloucestershire.[5] If any deduction

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 171. [2] Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I.

[3] *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, ii. 177, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 32.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 156, 9. [5] Glouc. Cath. Lib., Fro. Reg. A, Nos. 15, 4.

can be drawn from such evidence as this, there would seem to be as yet no one officer responsible for the control of the whole Forest.

Is it possible that the lord of Dene, now as at a later date, held only one of several forest bailiwicks? In the twelfth century, the foresters-in-fee of Abenhall and Bleyth both claimed that their predecessors had enjoyed the rights belonging to their bailiwicks from the "first conquest."[1] Neither name appears in Domesday. If, as suggested, the later parish of Abenhall was included at the date in William FitzNorman's lands in Dene, the bailiwick of Abenhall may have been cut out of that of Dene when the manors were separated. In this case the rights referred to at the later date would be those enjoyed by the holder of the original lands and bailiwick. The same might conceivably be the case with the bailiwick of Bleyth, which in the thirteenth century adjoined that of Dene. The one virgate attached to it may well have been included in the lands of William FitzNorman. How soon these bailiwicks broke off, or whether any others existed before the time of Henry II there is no evidence to show. Of the vills from which the later bailiwicks took their names two, possibly only one, are mentioned in Domesday.[2] In neither case is there any allusion to special service in connection with the Forest. The charge of separate districts was probably not entrusted to hereditary foresters until after the lands which gave each his name had been brought under cultivation. Whether this had already taken place in Norman times it is impossible to say.

Yet it seems unlikely that the lord of Dene should have been held responsible by the Conqueror and his sons for the guardianship of the whole Forest. At no time could his resources have sufficed for its safe keeping. His thirty-eight

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 2, and *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 106.

[2] Stantune (Stanton), given as Terra Regis under Hereford D. B., and Bicanofre (? Bicknor) held by William FitzNorman.

bordars could scarcely have been expected to spend their days watching the banks of the Wye, separated by the whole breadth of the Forest from their homes; nor is there any evidence to show that the foresters and bowmen of Henry I's charter were subordinate to him. It is probable that his duties did not extend beyond the payment of a fixed sum, arranged with the Crown at some date between 1066 and 1130, the collection of such dues as he could enforce, and the care of that part of the Forest adjacent to the lands of Dene. Already in 1130 there may have been other hereditary officers in charge of more distant parts. As for the lesser officials, they were perhaps as yet under the control of the sheriff, to whom, as to the foresters and bowmen, orders affecting the Forest are addressed. If the Forest hierarchy of later days already existed, there is little trace of it to be found.

In the course of Stephen's wars the Forest passed into the hands of Milo of Gloucester. Milo had acted as Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the later years of Henry I, and had received from him the custody of Gloucester Castle and other grants, which Stephen had confirmed.[1] In 1139 he went over to Matilda. In a charter assigned to the years 1139–41 Matilda granted him, for his service, the Castle of St. Briavels and the whole Forest of Dean in fee. The original charter is not to be found. There is a transcript of it, probably from the lost volume of the Great Coucher Book of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the Lansdowne MSS. 229, f. 123.[2] Milo died in 1143, two years after receiving from Matilda the Earldom of Hereford. Henry II, as might be expected, resumed the earlier grant. A charter, drawn up apparently in 1155,[3] excepts the Forest of Dean and the Castle of St. Briavels from the possessions regranted to Milo's son, Roger of Hereford.[4]

[1] J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 11, 13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56. [3] Eyton, *Itin. of Hen. II*, p. 9.
[4] *Rep. on Dig. of a Peer*, vol. v. app. v., and *Flax. Cart.*, p. 8.

The alienation of the Forest from the Crown during the period 1139–55 does not seem to have deprived the lord of Dean of more than a part of his special duties with regard to it. But the position has changed somewhat. This is clear from a charter of Roger of Hereford to William of Dene, produced in an inquisition of Edward II's reign.[1] The charter must have been granted between the death of Milo in 1143 and Henry II's resumption of the Forest at the beginning of his reign. It grants to William of Dene in fee all his tenements as he held them of Earl Milo, father of the grantor, viz. his "ministerium" of the Forest of Dene, with all things pertaining to the same, rendering in return twenty shillings and certain specified military service. In the reign of Edward II this charter was produced in proof that the lords of the manor of Dean, who were also foresters in fee of the bailiwick, ought to pay relief. It is noticeable that the lord of Dean is no longer responsible for the payment of the profits of the Forest, which had amounted, together with those of the Hayes of Hereford, to £13 in 1130. The sum of twenty shillings could not possibly represent the value of the Forest a few years later. It would seem rather to correspond with the sums paid in the thirteenth century by the foresters of fee of each bailiwick, sums ranging from five to thirty shillings per annum.[2] We know no more what was meant by the "ministry" of 1143–55 than by the "custody" of Domesday.

Henry II did not restore the heir of the FitzNormans to the position enjoyed under Henry I. The Hayes of Hereford, indeed, remained in charge of a Hugo forestarius, who was perhaps the son of the Hugo of 31 Henry I and the brother of William of Dene.[3] But the "ministerium" of the Dene family when it reappears at the end of the twelfth century is that of one bailiwick only among many in the Forest.[4]

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 171.

[2] *Cf.* For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

[3] *Cf.* Pipe Roll 2-11 Hen. II, Hereford.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1 John.

The financial responsibility for the Forest passed with the custody of the whole to an officer appointed by the Crown.

Henry II here as elsewhere tried experiments. In 1155 the entry "£10 of the Forest of Dean" among the accounts of diverse sheriffs in diverse counties[1] may mean that the Forest was given into the charge of the sheriff on its resumption by the Crown. If so, it was only a temporary arrangement. In 2 Henry II we find Nigel FitzArthur accounting for £10 of the "census" of the Forest of Dean.[2] For the following year he was excused payment,[3] and the same was the case with his successor, Roger of Powis, in 4 Henry II.[4] Two years later the reason for such leniency is given. In 6 Henry II the entry relating to the Forest states that "Roger de Powis owes £20, the profits of the Forest of Dene for two years, but they are in respite as long as he guards the Castle of St. Briavels."[5] The Castle had probably been placed in the same keeping as the Forest in the third year of Henry's reign, when Nigel FitzArthur was first excused payment of the firm. Roger de Powis held the Forest and the Castle with respite of payment until the tenth year of Henry II, when he was succeeded by William de Neville.[6] The latter held the profits of the Forest until the fifteenth year of Henry II "by the king's gift for the custody of the castle and Forest."[7] Here the scanty evidence of the Pipe Rolls ends as far as Henry II's reign is concerned. William de Neville appears again once or twice in other connections, but no further mention is made of the custody of Dean Forest. Since payment of the firm had been excused in consideration of its warden's services, the Exchequer officials had no further interest in it. It seems probable that William de Neville and his successors continued to hold office on the same terms until the reappearance of the Forest in the Pipe Rolls of Richard I.

[1] Red Book of the Exch., f. 188*b*.
[2] Pipe Roll, p. 48. [3] *Ibid.*, 4 Hen. II, p. 168.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 169. [5] *Ibid.*, 6 Hen. II, pp. 26, 29.
[6] Pip. Rot., 12 Hen. II, p. 77. [7] *Ibid.*, 13, 15 Hen. II.

The position of such men as Roger de Powis and William de Neville seems to correspond in many respects with that of the thirteenth-century wardens, but their responsibilities are less fully defined. The charters of the reign conferring grants in the Forest, put forward at a later date by the Abbey of St. Peter, are addressed to the "justices and the sheriff of Gloucestershire," to "all the king's bailiffs of the Forest of Dene,"[1] or to "all his barons, ministers and faithful subjects,"[2] not, as in later times, to the warden. Several of the hereditary foresterships were almost certainly in existence during the period,[3] but their relations and those of the lesser officials with the keeper of the Castle and Forest are still buried in obscurity.

Richard I's necessities probably suggested to him that the Forest might be made more directly profitable. In 1195 it reappears on the Pipe Rolls with the payment of its firm of £10 into the Exchequer by William Marshall. After this there is silence for three years more. Then, in 1199, William Marshall again appears as farmer of the Forest, and continues to account for it until 1207. During the greater part of this time he was also Sheriff of Gloucestershire. He is never expressly described as constable or warden; but he certainly had charge of St. Briavels, for the repairs of which he deducts in his accounts.[4] The nameless constable who in 1207 was ordered to deliver up the Castle and Forest to Hugh de Neville[5] could scarcely have been any other. From the year 1207 to the end of the century it is possible to trace a practically complete series of wardens of the Forest.

The only gap which appears to exist in the list of wardens is that between Thomas de Clare and William de Beauchamp. In the Eyre Roll of 1270 the wardenship of

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2*d*.

[2] *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, ii. 177.

[3] *Cf.* page 192. [4] *e.g.* Pipe Roll, 10 Ric. I, and 5 John.

[5] Pat. Rot., 8 John, m. 8.

WARDENS OF THE FOREST OF DEAN IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

NAME.	DATE OF APPOINTMENT.	AUTHORITY.
William Marshall	—	Pipe Roll, 6, 10 Ric. I to 8 John.
Hugh de Neville	1207, May 25	Pat. Roll, 8 John, m. 4.
John de Monmouth	1216, June 18	,, ,, 18 John, m. 8.
Walter Asmeins	1224, January 4	,, ,, 8 Hen. III, m. 8.
Roger de Clifford	,, March 8	,, ,, 8 Hen. III, m. 10.
Gilbert Basset	1231, November 17 ..	,, ,, 16 Hen. III, m. 10.
Peter de Rivallis	1232, October 4	Charter Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 27.
Amaury de St. Amand.. ..	1234, Pentecost	Pat. Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 10.
Emery de Cancellis	1241, June 5	Pat. Roll, 25 Hen. III, m. 7.
Richard de Clifford	1247, May 23	Fine Roll, 31 Hen. III, pt. 1.
Peter Chaceporc	1248, May 1	Pat. Roll, 32 Hen. III, m. 7.
James Freysil	1255, January 13 ..	Fine Roll, 39 Hen. III.
Robert Walerand	,, November 17 ..	Fine Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 21.
Roger de Mortimer	—	For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d*.
John Giffard	1263, August 7	Pat. Roll, 47 Hen. III, m. 8.
Thomas de Clare	1265, April 24	Pat. Roll, 49 Hen. III, m. 17.
William de Beauchamp ..	1272, January 25 ..	For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30.
Ralph de Sandwich	1276, September 29 ..	,, ,, ,, m. 1*d*.
Grimbald Paunçefote	1281, November 16 ..	,, ,, ,, m. 30.
William Hathewy	1287, April 15	Mem. Roll, L. T. R., 15 Edw. I, m. 4.
John de Botteturte	1291, January 4	Pat. Roll, 19 Edw. I, m. 23.

the former is alluded to as a thing of the past.[1] But the grant of the issues of the Forest of Dean at a firm of £100 to William de Beauchamp is dated January 25th, 127½. It is possible, however, that the latter had already held the Forest under other conditions before the grant mentioned. The fact that Osbert de Berford, who is described as constable under William de Beauchamp, is also referred to as holding office before the last eyre (of 1270) seems to point in this direction. Richard de Clifford certainly held office for a year before he received a grant of the Forest at firm in 1247. He is addressed as constable on the Close Roll of 30 Henry III (April 20th), and we find him accounting on the Pipe Rolls for the issues of the Forest during the year 30–31 Henry III.[2] In the case of Emery de Cancellis, the appointment was made retrospective, to include the preceding year. The wardenship of Roger de Mortimer is somewhat of a mystery. His predecessor, Robert Walerand, was appointed in November, 1255, for a term of five years. This period was subsequently extended to an additional period of three years,[3] which would bring it to November, 1263, and he accounts for these years on the Pipe Rolls. John Giffard was appointed in August, 1263; yet he is described in the Eyre Roll as holding the custody "after Roger,"[4] whose misdeeds and those of his deputy had been already described. It looks as though Roger de Mortimer's custody had been a matter of arrangement with Robert Walerand. On three occasions the Castle and Forest were committed to a temporary guardian between the removal of one warden and the appointment of another. The Bishop of Hereford was ordered to receive custody in 1224 from John of Monmouth and transfer to Walter Asmeins.[5] In September, 1231, doubtless on the death of Roger de Clifford,[6] the Sheriff of Gloucestershire was ordered

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d*.

[2] Pipe Roll, 33 Hen. III. [3] Pat. Roll, 44 Hen. III, m. 5.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d*.

[5] Pat. Rot., 8 Hen. III, Jan. 3. [6] *Cf.* Foss, Judges.

to take into the king's hands the Castle and Forest of St. Briavels, and guard safely till the king ordered otherwise.[1] Gilbert Basset was appointed warden on November 17th of the same year. In 1264 the custody of the Castle and Forest with its appurtenances was granted to Walter de Wyke, Canon of Lanthony, "for the use of the king."[2] This appointment never seems to have taken effect. John Gifford, an adherent of Simon de Montfort, appointed in 1263, was still in possession in 1265.[3]

In every case except two, the grant of the custody of the Forest was accompanied by that of the Castle of St. Briavels. Where this is not explicity done, it is clear from other evidence that the warden of the Forest was also constable of the Castle. On two occasions during the Barons' War a grant was made of the custody of the castle without any mention of that of the Forest. On the first occasion the grantee was a certain Drogo de Barentyn,[4] who was superseded in less than two months by John Giffard. As there is no proof that he ever held the Forest, he has not been included in the list of wardens. In the second case, that of Thomas de Clare, there is evidence that the Forest was also in his custody.[5]

In 1266 the Castle and Forest were granted to Edward, the king's son, and his heirs, "so that they be not separated from the Crown of England.[6] This grant, however, does not seem to have affected the administration of the Forest. The Eyre Rolls of 1270 and 1282 show the Forest during the period 1266–72 to be still under the control of the constable of St. Briavels.[7]

The conditions of tenure expressed in the terms of the warden's appointment up to 1232 are somewhat vague.

[1] Fine Roll, 15 Hen. III, Sept. 11th.
[2] Pat. Rot., 48 Hen. III, m. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, 49 Hen. III, m. 17. [4] Fine Roll, 47 Hen. III, m. 4.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d.*
[6] Pat. Rot. 50 Hen. III, m. 30.
[7] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 12.

Only in one case do they include a grant of the issues of the Forest, and in no case do they stipulate for the payment of a fixed annual sum to the Crown. It is clear from the Pipe Rolls, however, that the warden continued to account for the firm of £10 up to this date. From 1232 the issues of the Castle and Forest, with or without certain specified exceptions, are usually included in the grant, and the amount of the firm to be paid is stated. Occasionally the warden was directed to pay his receipts direct into the Exchequer. There is evidence to show that some of the wardens who did thus received payment for their services.

The appointment was usually made during the king's pleasure. There are five exceptions. Amaury de St. Amand in 1234 and Emery de Cancellis in 1241 were both appointed for one year, and afterwards continued in office. Robert Walerand was appointed for a term of five years, later extended to eight.[1] Grimbald Pauncefote was appointed in 1281 for eight years, and Peter of Rivallis in 1232 for life. The last only enjoyed his grant for two years before he shared the fate of all those foreign favourites, who were driven from their offices in 1234. The Exchequer officials, with cruel irony, continued to charge him with the annual firm long after his successor had entered on his duties.[2] The actual length of tenure varies greatly throughout the century. The shortest, excluding temporary arrangements, was that of Walter Asmeins, who held it from January 4th to March 8th, 1224, under the direction of Ralph FitzNicholas. The longest was that of John Botteturte, from 1291 to 1307. The average length of tenure under Henry III was four years, under Edward I six years. Three of the wardens, Roger de Clifford,[3] Richard de Clifford,[4] and Grimbald Pauncefote,[5] died in office. Peter de Rivallis was deprived.[6] Amaury de Saint Amand went on a crusade,[7]

[1] Pat. Rot., 44 Hen. III, m. 5. [2] *e.g.* Pip. Rot., 31 Hen. III, Glouc.
[3] Close Roll, 15 Hen. III, m. 14. [4] Pipe Roll 33 Hen. III.
[5] Mem. Rot., L. T. R., 15 Edw. I, m. 4.
[6] Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* [7] *Ibid.*

so apparently did Thomas de Clare.[1] John de Monmouth resigned on account of ill-health.[2] There is no evidence to show what determined the length of office in other cases. Sometimes, no doubt, the warden was outbidden by his successor. Sometimes he was transferred to some more important post. In no case is there any proof that he suffered loss of office for maladministration.

A glance at the list of wardens makes it clear that few of these officials could have devoted close personal attention to their custody. Many of them during their tenure of office were engaged on national business. William Marshall, between 1199 and 1207, was Sheriff of Gloucestershire and Sussex, was employed on several missions abroad, and was in frequent attendance upon the king.[3] Hugh de Neville and John of Monmouth were both among John's chief advisers. The Forest of Dean is only one of many demesnes for which the former accounts on the Pipe Rolls. The latter held at the same time the custody of several other castles and forests. Amaury de St. Amand, one of the god-parents of Prince Edward, must have been constantly at Court. He is described by Matthew Paris as "senescallus curiæ regis domini."[4] Robert Walerand was justice of the forests south of the Trent during three years of his tenure, and was subsequently appointed to the custody of Salisbury and Bristol Castles under the Provisions of Oxford. Ralph of Sandwich was escheator south of the Trent from 1277 to 1282, and accounting in that capacity for numerous demesnes in the South of England. John de Botteturte was engaged on more than one naval expedition, and on the king's service in Scotland between the years 1291 and 1307.[5] To royal favourites, such as Peter de Rivallis and Peter Chaceporc, the wardenship of the Forest was only one among many offices. Roger Mortimer,

[1] Pat. Roll, 54 Hen. III, m. 11 and 15*d*.

[2] *Ibid.*, 8 Hen. III, m. 11.

[3] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, *sub nom*, and for other names mentioned.

[4] *Chron. Maj.* iv. p. 44 *n*. [5] *Cf.* Pipe Rot., 21 Edw. I, Glouc.

DEPUTY WARDENS OF THE FOREST OF DEAN.

DATE.	NAME OF WARDEN.	NAME OF DEPUTY.	REFERENCE.
? 1195	William Marshall	——	——
1207	Hugh de Neville	Philip de Bampton ..	Maitland, *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.*, p. 337, and Pipe Roll, 12 John.
1216	John de Monmouth ..	Warner de Sanford ..	Close Roll, 5 Hen. III, m. 3.
1224	Walter Asmeins	——	——
1224	Roger de Clifford ..	Hugh de Kynardesley ..	Close Roll, 10 Hen. III, m. 29.
1231	Gilbert Basset	——	——
1232	Peter de Rivallis	Geoffrey de Langly ..	Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, Nov. 4, 10.
		Nicolas de Molis	,, ,, ,,
		William de S. Leodegaris	Close Roll, 20 Hen. III, m. 10.
1234	Amaury de S. Amand	Matthew de Coudin ..	For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
1241	Emery de Cancellis ..	——	——
1246	Richard de Clifford ..	——	——
1248	Peter Chaceporc	John le Chapelayn ..	For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 3.
		Philip Wyther	*Ib.*, m. 2, and Pipe Roll, 53 Hen. III.

1255	James Freysil	Alexander Wyther ..	For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 5*d.*
1255	Robert Walerand ..	Robert le Walays.. ..	,, ,, ,, No. 29, m. 1*d.*
—	Roger de Mortimer ..	Richard de Liketon ..	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
1263	John Giffard	Richard de Hevenburg	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
1265	Thomas de Clare	Geoffrey de Doynton ..	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
		Jordan de la Ware ..	*Ib.*, m. 6, and *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 144.
1272	William de Beauchamp	Osbert de Berford ..	For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 12.
		William le Blund ..	,, ,, ,, m. 5, 12.
		Philip Wyther	,, ,, ,, m. 6, 28.
		Richard de Muleford ..	,, ,, ,,m. 30*d.* 28.
1276	Ralph de Sandwich ..	Walter de Snappe ..	,, ,, ,, m. 5.
1281	Grimbald Pauncefote ..	Alexander de Bykenor	,, ,, ,, m. 2*d.*
1286	William Hathewy ..	——	
1291	John de Botteturte ..	Ralph de Heydon ..	Chanc Misc., bdle. 11, file 7, No. 3.
		John de Aylberton ..	Pipe Roll, 33 Edw. I.
		Nicolas le Lung	*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 95.

the lord of Wigmore, engaged in constant struggle with the Welsh; John Giffard of Brimpsfield, fighting first for Simon de Montfort and then for the king; Thomas de Clare, brother of the Red Earl, and the friend of Prince Edward—all these could have spent but little time on the duties of their office. Neighbouring landowners, like Grimbald Pauncefote and William Hathewy, could no doubt give to the Forest a closer if not more disinterested attention. It is to be noticed that several of the more important wardens held lands bordering on the Forest. Such were William Marshall, the lord of Striguil, the marcher barons John of Monmouth and Roger de Mortimer, and William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and lord of the Manor of Lydney. Perhaps the Forest saw them on that account more often than others. But the proportion of time allotted to its administration could have been, even in those cases, but small.

In view of the frequent absence of the constable, the appointment of a deputy seems to have been the rule. It is not possible to trace a complete series of deputy wardens during the period. In no case has any record been found of appointment by the Crown. Thus their names only appear incidentally upon the rolls, and it is seldom possible to discover how long each held office. It is probable, therefore, that many have escaped notice in the records extant. This would account for many gaps in the list here given.[1]

Twelve of the officers named appear once at least as "constable" under their respective wardens, three as bailiff, and one as *locum tenens* of the warden for the time being. Two others are addressed one as constable the other as castellan by the warden himself. Hugh of Kynardesley in 1226, and Alexander of Bykenor in 1282, are described as "constable" in the only two allusions made to them. The remaining four names are those of officials found fulfilling the constable's functions, but not expressly described as deputies. It is possible that Nicolas de Molis

[1] Pp. 182, 183.

was in temporary charge of the Castle of St. Briavels during the struggle with Richard Marshall. Orders are addressed to him and Geoffrey of Langley on the same day, so that the duties of constable must have been shared between them.

Other names have been found which may also be those of deputy wardens, but which have not been included owing to lack of evidence. Such are Ralph of St. Briavels, who accounts on the Pipe Rolls for John of Monmouth,[1] and Nicolas the clerk and Richard of Castle Goodrich who do the same for Roger de Clifford.[2] It is more probable that these were only stewards of the warden, for in one case at least another deputy is mentioned during the period covered. More ambiguous is the position of the "bailiff of the Liberty of St. Briavels" (or simply "bailiff of St. Briavels"), who appears on the scenes under Edward I. Between 1279 and 1289 the term is applied to two individuals mentioned in the Pipe Rolls as responsible for the collection of fines. The first of these is Adam of Kilpeck, who accounts on the rolls of 7 and 13 Edward I. He seems to be identified with Adam Walens, reeve of St. Briavels, who was convicted in 10 Edward I of misdeeds in the Forest,[3] and with Adam le Walays, "gardien," who claimed certain rights in the Forest between 1279 and 1282.[4] The second is Ralph Hathewy, who accounts for various sums, including arrears of the firm, on the Pipe Roll of 17 Edward I. It seems probable that in each case the reeve or bailiff of St. Briavels was acting as deputy of the warden. After 1289 the term "bailiff of St. Briavels" or "bailiff of the Liberty of St. Briavels," is applied in the Pipe Rolls to the wardens William Hathewy and John de Botteturte in turn. On the Pipe Roll of 31 Edward I it is stated that the bailiff of St. Briavels accounts for certain sums *per ballivum suum*. Emery

[1] Pipe Roll 5-7 Hen. III. [2] *Ibid.*, 9-12 Hen. III, 13 Hen. III.
[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 32, m. 4.

of Cancellis and Richard de Clifford had both been described as bailiff at an earlier date.[1]

As a rule the same description is applied indifferently to the warden and his deputy. Both appear as "constable," both as "bailiff," of St. Briavels. The former is by far the most common appellation. Other names applied to the warden are "custos,"[2] "senescal,"[3] "forester,"[4] and even "sheriff"[5] of St. Briavels. This last is probably a slip. The use of the first three is rare. The deputy of Ralph of Sandwich received sixpence a day for his services.[6] There is no evidence as to the salary received by others.

It is difficult to discover how much of the practical administration of the Forest was left to a deputy, how much was directed by the warden in person. In one or two cases there is evidence to show that the warden played a personal part in the details of the administration. Thus James Freysil in the Eyre Roll of 1270[7] and Grimbald Pauncefote[8] in that of 1282 were each convicted of misdeeds in person. It is likely that William Hathewy, a forest landholder, took an active interest in the duties of his office. Here and there we hear of inquisitions carried out by the warden in person.[9] But for the most part the doings described in the Eyre Rolls are those of his deputy. The warden was held responsible for them.[10] He was expected, moreover, to answer for the firm in person.[11] But orders from the king relating to the Forest might be addressed either to the warden by name, to the deputy by name,[12] or to the "constable" of St.

[1] Pipe Roll, 26 and 31 Hen. III. [2] *Ibid.*, 29 Hen. III and 18 Edw. I.
[3] *Ibid.*, 17 Edw. I. [4] Close Roll, 8 Hen. III, m. 10.
[5] Pipe Roll, 38 Edw. I. [6] *Ibid.*, 4 and 9 Edw. I.
[7] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 4*d*. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 17.
[9] Cf. *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv, pp. 119, 120, 124.
[10] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 28*d*, 30*d*, etc.
[11] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 20 and 31 Edw. I, Glouc. John de Botteturte was pardoned in the latter year a fine of 5 marks incurred by non-attendance, on proof that he was "at that time in the king's service in Scotland, and could in no wise come in person."
[12] Close Roll, 10 Hen. III, m. 29; this is rare.

Briavels without further specification. A letter close of 7 Henry III [1] is addressed to the bailiffs of John de Monmouth. It is not clear to whom this refers. There are several allusions to royal orders forwarded by the warden to his deputy. [2]

The duties which the warden was expected to perform, whether in person or by deputy, were many and various. He was generally responsible for the execution of the forest law. Grants of exemption from it [3] or of release from the immediate consequences of infringing it [4] were addressed to him. He was responsible for the safe keeping of evildoers to the venison, after causing inquisition to be made; [5] for receiving beasts found slain; [6] and for taking charge of cattle discovered feeding unlawfully in the Forest. [7] He took possession of private woods in cases where the owners had failed to keep the assize of the Forest. It was his duty to see that no wood was cut and no assarts made without due authority. [8] He had to inspect weirs and forges and to view assarts, usually in company with other officials. [9] He appointed some at least of the foresters. [10] His administrative duties extended to matters not strictly connected with the Forest. Thus in 1234 the constable was charged with the direction of the guard set to watch Richard Marshall's men who had taken refuge in Flaxley Abbey. [11] In 1281 the constable was ordered to take the abbey under the king's special protection and administer its revenue, on account of the financial difficulties into which it had fallen. [12]

[1] m. 2.

[2] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, No. 4, 10 and 20 Hen. III, m. 10; *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, ii. 184.

[3] *Cf.* Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 15; 2 Hen. III, m. 15; 9 Hen. III, m. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*, 19 Hen. III, m. 8. [5] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of. Rec., No. 28, m. 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, 4*d.* [7] Close Roll, 33 Hen. III, m. 4.

[8] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d.*

[9] *Cf.* Pat. Rot., 11 Edw. No. 1, m. 16; Close Roll, 8 Hen. III, m. 10.

[10] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 6.

[11] *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III, m. 28*d.* [12] Pat. Rot., 10 Edw. I, m. 22.

As custodian of a royal castle, the constable had to see that it was properly stocked with provisions,[1] to pay the garrison, and to take charge of ordinary thieves[2] and of such political prisoners as the king might entrust to him.[3] The financial and economic duties of the constable were no less important. He was responsible for the collection of the royal rents and dues of every kind within the Forest,[4] and for their payment, or for that of a stipulated sum in their place, into the Exchequer. In the last half of the century he collected also many of the fines for forest offences, and for other offences committed by the inhabitants, and accounted for them separately.[5] The constable had the care of lands held in chief within the Forest which had been taken into the hands of the Crown.[6] It was his duty to assign land in the Forest on orders from the king,[7] and to give seizin to the heir on payment of relief.[8] The making of paths in the Forest[9] and sales of wood were entrusted to him, sometimes alone, sometimes with others.[10] It was his duty to see that the deer were supplied with sufficient food,[11] and that the Manor of St. Briavels was properly stocked.[12] He supervised the catching, salting and dispatch of the venison ordered for the king. He had the charge of the arrows manufactured in the forest,[13] and was called upon to produce them when wanted.[14] He had the execution of the king's orders for timber, and of his numerous grants of wood and venison from the Forest.[15]

[1] *Cf.* Close Roll, 15 Edw. I, m. 1.
[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30.
[3] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 28 Edw. I.
[4] For a description of these *cf.* Rot. Fin., 40 Hen. III, m. 21.
[5] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 26 Hen. III; 22 Edw. I; 17 Edw. I.
[6] *Cf.* Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, m. 8; 15 Edw. I, m. 2.
[7] *Cf.* Rot. Fin., 8 Hen. III, m. 1. [8] *Ibid.*, 17 Hen. III, pt. i. April 22.
[9] *Cf.* Close Roll, 19 Hen. III, m. 26. [10] Pat. Rot., 11 Edw. I, m. 16.
[11] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 17.
[12] Pipe Roll, 4 and 8 Edw. I, comp. of Ralph of Sandwich.
[13] *Cf.* Close Roll, 41 Hen. III, m. 4, and Pipe Rolls, *passim.*
[14] *Cf.* Close Roll, 45 Hen. III, m. 18, 2. [15] *Ibid.*, *passim.*

Many of these duties seem to have been adequately carried out. As police officer, purveyor and steward, the constable's services must have been of great value to the Crown. But his primary function—that of guarding the Forest—was by no means always satisfactorily performed. An examination of the Eyre Rolls shows that the warden himself was often a chief offender. That of 1270, for instance, devotes considerable space to the misdeeds of Robert Walerand and his three successors and their deputies. By them venison has been taken more than can be counted, woods have been cut down, waste allowed, and evildoers left unpunished.[1] The damage done to the king's woods under John Giffard and Thomas de Clare is assessed at £2,368 11s. Similar cases on a smaller scale appear in the Eyre Rolls of 1258 and 1282 and the regard of 1282. James Freysil has allowed Robert le Fraunceys to occupy and enclose one acre of royal demesne without warrant.[2] Walter de Snappe permitted Robert of Ganerew to go away in peace for a fine.[3] Osbert de Berford and William le Blund retained in his office of forester Robert of Wynterburn, an evildoer to the king's venison.[4] William and Henry, sons of Walter de Snappe, are evildoers, and Walter de Snappe has harboured them and consented to their acts. There are some forty cases of this sort on the three rolls extant. At an earlier date we find a sum of £207 11s. 8d. laid to the account of Emery de Cancellis for transgressions brought to light in the eyre of Robert Passelewe.[5] In 1217 it had been necessary to seize the lands of John de Monmouth before he would surrender to the Crown the possessions and heir of a certain forester-in-fee.[6]

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d.* The unusually large damage done between 1258 and 1270 was probably due to the license enjoyed during the Barons' Wars.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 28, m. 2. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 31. [4] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 12.

[5] Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. III.

[6] Fine Roll, 2 Hen. III, pt. i., Dec. 18th.

Moreover, the constable often either could not or would not keep his subordinates in order. Thus the evil practices of Adam, reeve of St. Briavels, in the early years of Edward I seem to have been carried on for the most part quite openly and seemingly unchecked. He cut down trees and used the timber for houses in St. Briavels. He carried off timber intended for the repair of the Castle.[1] He retained 5s., the price of a poacher's horse, and 10s. for two forges, besides 20s. which he took secretly for pigs agisted in the Forest.[2] In 1270 great waste had also been done by the sergeants and foresters whom Robert le Walays appointed and removed from day to day for diverse fines.[3] Of the nineteen wardens who held office under Henry III and Edward I, thirteen appear at some time or other as guilty of peculation or neglect, either in their own person or that of their deputy.

The control exercised by the central authority was, in fact, insufficient to check such proceedings. True, the Close Rolls contain detailed directions as to matters of forest administration—how the Forest is to be agisted,[4] where paths are to be made,[5] and so forth. They show acquaintance with the exact amount of obstruction thrown in the way of this or that more powerful recipient of a royal grant.[6] But the very fact that orders have to be repeated again and again show how difficult it was to exact obedience. True, the justices in eyre appeared now and again upon the scenes, and special commissions could be named to inquire into particular matters. But such interference was spasmodic. There were only three eyres in the last half of the century, none after 1282. In each of these numerous misdeeds of bygone wardens were brought up for judgment, and the king may or may not have exacted reparation for them in the end; but it is curious how little is said of the

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 6*d*.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 1*d*.

[4] Close Roll, 17 John, m. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, 20 Hen. III, m. 16.

[6] *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III, m. 19, 21, and 3 Edw. I, m. 16.

warden of the moment. In the eyre of 1258 the warden was himself justice of the forest south of Trent,[1] and probably above criticism. There is plenty to be said of his misdeeds twelve years later. In the eyre of 1270 the contemporary warden does not appear at all. In the eyre of 1282 he appears only as a pledge and in a dispute with one of the foresters-in-fee. Out of office, retribution was slow and uncertain. The Crown frequently abandoned the attempt to exact arrears and fines.[2] In office, the position of the warden was one of practical independence; evidence against him was seldom forthcoming. When produced, it seems to have led to no serious consequences. Even when the king, for reasons of his own, had no further use for the services of a particular warden, it was not easy in moments of crisis to get rid of him. Hugh de Neville failed to take the hint in 1215.[3] John Giffard ignored the command in 1264.[4] Such cases were no doubt exceptional, but they serve to show how slight the control of the Crown might be.

Within the Forest the authority of the warden was rivalled by that of the foresters-in-fee. Here these officers were of unusual importance. There were nine of them under Henry III, each in charge of a definite part of the demesne woods, called his bailiwick. Their collective authority extended roughly over a district bounded by the Wye, the Cone, the Severn, and a line drawn from Walmore Common to Ross. The nine bailiwicks took their names from the vills of Abenhall, Berse, Bicknor, Blakeney, Lea, Dene, Ruardyn, Stanton, and from the family of Bleyth. At some time before 1282 the bailiwick of Dene was divided into Magna Dene and Parva Dene.[5] The bounds of each bailiwick are given in the regard of 1282.[6]

[1] *E. H. R.*, vol. xviii. p. 112.
[2] *Cf.* p. 230.
[3] Pat. Rot., 17 John, m. 17, and 18, m. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, 48 Hen. III, m. 16, and 49, m. 17.
[5] For. Proc. Exch. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25, and Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
[6] *Ibid.*

With the exception of Dene, one only of these appears in the records before the reign of John. In 1195 Nicolas, son of Nicolas Avenel, rendered account of ten marks to have the sergeanty of Lalega in the Forest of Dene.[1] It seems clear that the sergeanty in question was the custody of the bailiwick of Lea, Lacu or La Lee, as it is variously called. Four other bailiwicks are mentioned on the Pipe Roll of the first year of John, those of Blakeney, Stanton, Ralph Avenel, lord of Bicknor,[2] and Robert Albamare, lord of Ruardyn.[3] The lady of Blakeney pays a fine that the king's charcoal burners may be removed from her bailiwick; Henry of Stanton and Ralph Avenel, for bad custody of their bailiwicks; Robert Albamare, "for the assarts which he suffered to be made on the Wye in his bailiwick." In the same year Geoffrey of Dene paid three marks that his bailiwick might be viewed to see if it were well guarded or not.

The remaining foresterships-in-fee are not explicitly mentioned until the reign of Henry III. William of Abenhall is alluded to as a forester-in-fee in 1217,[4] William Bleyth in 1223.[5] Richard FitzJoscei, who is also described as a forester-in-fee in the latter year, would seem to be the father or uncle of William Joce, whose bailiwick is mentioned in the Verdict of the Three Foreign Hundreds[6] some twenty years later, and is afterwards identified with that of Le Bers.[7]

It is probable that many of these bailiwicks were in existence at a much earlier date, though direct evidence is wanting. The fact that the foresters-in-fee of Abenhall and Bleyth bailiwicks claimed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century to have held from the Conquest would suggest that the bailiwicks in question had been in their

[1] Pipe Roll, 6 Ric. I. [2] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 2 Ric. I.
[3] *Cf.* Rot. Fin., 17 Hen. III, pt. i. April 22nd.
[4] Close Roll, 1 Hen. III, m. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, 7 Hen. III, m. 19.
[6] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[7] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 334.

possession at any rate for more than three generations. The earliest mention of the two names has been found in charters whose grants refer to the years 1201 and 1195 respectively.[1] Representatives of several of the families who held hereditary foresterships in the thirteenth century appear on the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II in connection with forest or other offences. The name of William of Dene is mentioned in 1167 and 1177, that of Geoffrey of Dene in 1195. It seems fair to conclude that the family was holding, in some form or other, under Henry II and Richard I the ministry which had been conferred on them in the last years of Stephen, and which reappears as the custody of one among several bailiwicks in the first year of John. Robert of Albamare and Ralph Avenel are also mentioned on the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II in connection with the payment of fines "de misericordia regis pro foresta." Hugo FitzWalding, who is fined on the roll of 13 Henry II, and Arnulf of Blakeney, who makes fine for his forge on the roll of 31 Henry II, may possibly be ancestors of the foresters-in-fee of Stanton and Blakeney respectively. "Walding" appears later as the patronymic of the foresters of Stanton;[2] but the name is a common one, and there is no evidence in this case, or in that of Arnulf of Blakeney, of any special obligations in connection with the Forest.

In the thirteenth century the foresters-in-fee held certain land by the service of keeping their bailiwick, with one or more foresters under them, and of paying for the land and bailiwick a fixed sum per annum to the Crown. The following table shows the amount of land held in the cases where evidence is available, together with the rents paid and the number of foresters which ought to be supplied. It will be noticed that there is no sort of fixed relation between the three.

The foresters-in-fee were subject to the rights of wardship

[1] Flax. Cart., Nos. 35, 53.
[2] *Cf.* Pat. Roll, 49 Hen. III, m. 1.

FORESTERS-IN-FEE—LAND AND SERVICES.

NAME.	LAND HELD.	PAYMENT.	NO. OF FORESTERS.	AUTHORITY.
Abenhall ..	Manor	10s. for land and 20s. for bailiwick.	Two on foot	*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 234; Exch. K. R. bdl. 1, No. 25; Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 2.
Berse ..	——	——	——	——
Bicknor ..	2 carucates, 1236 .. Manor, 1301	10s. (1244–8) .. 15s. (1301)	One	*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. pp. 1, 230; For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
Blakeney ..	1 virgate	19s.	Two	Hund. Rolls, Glouc.; For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 1; K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
Bleyth ..	1 virgate	5s.	One	*Ib.*, Hund. Rolls, i. 176.
Dene	2 carucates	10s.	One horse, two foot	*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 24; For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
Lea	None in 1275	15s.	——	*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 98; For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
Ruardyn ..	Manor, 2 carucates ..	20s. (1244–)8 .. 23s. and military service (1256)	——	*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol iv. p. 17; For. Proc. K, R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
Stanton ..	Vill, viz. 1 carucate..	26s. 8d.	——	*Ib.*, Hund. Rolls, i. 176.

relief and marriage.[1] The foresters of Abenhall,[2] Dene[3] and Ruardyn[4] owed military service within the Forest in addition to their duties of custody. All the foresters-in-fee, with one possible exception, were landholders of some local importance. The forester-in-fee of Dene is described as lord of Dene in the latter half of Henry III's reign.[5] In two or three other cases the manor was apparently held independently of the bailiwick. The lady of Blakeney was the holder of the bailiwick in 1200;[6] and in 1282 an allusion to William Bleyth's court-house[7] seems to show that the forester in question was also lord of the manor. In 1287 the lands of La Lee, held of the king, were restored to the holder of the bailiwick.[8] There is no evidence as to the land held or rent paid by the foresters-in-fee of Berse, or Le Berse, as it is indifferently called. At a later date the family of Joce, who held the bailiwick, are found in possession of certain tenements in Newland.[9] The name Bearse is marked on the modern ordnance map some two miles north-west of St. Briavels. The bailiwick of Bleyth would seem to survive in Blaize Bailey, to the west of Newnham. The names of the seven other bailiwicks are still those of villages or little towns within the Forest.

How the foresters-in-fee came into possession of their bailiwicks it is impossible to say. As early as the middle of the thirteenth century their title was unknown There still survives the answer of the jurors to a comprehensive inquiry on this and other matters in the reign of Henry III.[10] The document, which is headed "Verdict of the Three Foreign Hundreds," appears from internal evidence to be of the date 1244–8. Amaury de St. Amand, who resigned in 1240, was

[1] *Cf.* Fin. Roll, 31 Hen. III, pt. i., May 23rd.
[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 2.
[3] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [5] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[6] Pipe Roll, 1 John. [7] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
[8] Close Roll, 15 Edw. I, m 2. [9] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., 13 Edw. II.
[10] For. Proc. Exch. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

apparently no longer constable when it was drawn up. Nicolas Hathewy, who died in 1248,[1] was still alive; so was Alexander Bleyth, who died in 1250.[2] The chapters answer roughly to those of the great inquisition which Henry III ordered to be made into the forests in 1244.[3] To the question, What warrant the foresters-in-fee have for their tenure? the jurors reply that they know no warrant "nisi antiqua tenura." In answer to the further question, How much they pay for their bailiwicks? the jurors give the sums paid by all except the forester of Berse.

Of the perquisites claimed by the foresters-in-fee, comparatively little is said. Their claim to take the dead and dry wood to make up their firm is mentioned, but the jurors are not prepared to endorse it. The right seems, however, to have been admitted by the Crown. In 1234 the constable was ordered to permit the king's foresters to make charcoal and other profit of the small branches of oaks and of other wood which belong to their fee.[4] Three years later he was ordered to "allow Richard of Stanton henceforth to have all the stumps of trees hewn down in his bailiwick without price, as the king has learnt that they belong to his liberty which he has in fee in the Forest."[5] The right to keep forges in the Forest was also conceded by the Crown.[6] Beyond this extensive privileges were claimed and exercised by the foresters-in-fee with or without its acquiescence. A comprehensive list is extant of those claimed by Ralph of Abenhall and other foresters-in-fee in the early years of Edward I.[7] The MS. consists of a number of membranes fastened together at one end, and from internal evidence appears to be of the date 1279–82. One set of claims is advanced by Nicolas of La Lee, who fined for his brother's land and bailiwick in 1275;[8] another by Ralph

[1] Rot. Fin., 32 Hen. III, m. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, 34 Hen. III, m, 3.
[3] M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, vi. 96. [4] Close Roll, 19 Hen. III, m. 26.
[5] Close Roll, 21 Hen. III, m. 19.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1 Hen. III, m. 1; 5, m. 19.
[7] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32. [8] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 98.

Hathewy, guardian of the heir of Bleyth, who had come under the king's wardship in 1279.[1] A third set is presented by Walter de Aston, forester-in-fee of Blakeney, who died in 1282.[2] They were probably drawn up for presentation at the justice seat of 1282. The perquisites claimed by Ralph of Abenhall included housebote and haybote by view of the verderers; ore, sea coal, and the eyries of falcons and sparrow hawks found in his bailiwick; dead and dry wood for himself and his men; pannage and common throughout the Forest for the same; fallen wood, except wind-fallen trees; the top and lop of all trees given away; a trunk at Christmas; a pig or two shillings at Martinmas, when the king takes his pannage in the bailiwick; and the right to keep dogs for coursing the hare and fox outside the covert. He seems to have claimed, too, a certain proportion of the chestnuts gathered by the king's men in his bailiwick; but the MS. is too faded at this point to allow of any definite statement on the subject. The claims advanced by the foresters-in-fee of Blakeney, Bleyth, Lea, and Stanton were similar, though less comprehensive. It is probable that claims were also made by the remaining foresters-in-fee, but have not been preserved. The privileges assigned by the jurors at a later date to the foresters of Abenhall and Stanton were much more modest.[3] To judge from the verdict of 1244–8 and the regard of 1282, the fuller rights described were freely exercised during the period under discussion.

It was the duty of the foresters-in-fee to search for evil-doers in their bailiwicks, and to bring those found before the verderers in the swainmote.[4] Each forester was obliged to keep his own roll of attachments to present to the justices when they came round.[5] Each appointed the foresters in his own bailiwick, apparently with the consent of the warden.[6] Beyond this the foresters were

[1] Pat. Rot., 7 Edw. I, m. 19. [2] *Ibid.*, 10 Edw. I, m. 8.
[3] Chanc. I. P. M., 14 Edw. III, f. 65, and 15 Edw. III, f. 66.
[4] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 10. [5] *Ibid.*, m. 33.
[6] *Ibid.*, m. 7, and K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

expected to take part in inquisitions and perambulations,[1] and to assist the warden in carrying out the royal orders.[2] The foresters seem to have acted on occasions, together with the verderers, as arbitrators between the constable and the inhabitants.[3] To some extent they may have been supposed to act with the verderers as a check on the warden in the interests of the Crown. This is suggested by a notification to the foresters, verderers, agisters, etc., in 1256, that the king has accepted a sale of wood arranged by the then constable, James Freysil;[4] and by the fact that a grant of oaks to the constable, John of Monmouth, in 1223, is addressed to the verderers and foresters.[5] Probably the foresters-in-fee are to be understood in each case.

The exact relations between the constable and the foresters-in-fee are hard to determine. Theoretically, it would seem that the foresters were subordinate to the constable. A letter patent of 18 John, in connection with the appointment of John of Monmouth to the constableship, orders all verderers foresters, sergeants, and others of the Forest of Dene to be intendant and responsible in all things to the aforesaid John as to the king's bailiff.[6] A similar order in connection with Roger de Clifford in 1224 is addressed to the verderers, foresters and sergeants-in-fee, and other men of the bailiwick of the Forest of Dene.[7] In practice the plea of obedience to orders was considered good enough to serve as an excuse to defaulting foresters. Ralph of Abenhall, on being asked in the eyre of 1282 why he had had so many trees felled in his bailiwick, answered that it was by command of the constable, who for his part denied that he had ever given such a command.[8] The constable

[1] *Cf.* Close Roll, No. 8, m. 10; I. P. M., *re* forest lands, *passim*; For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 255.

[2] *Cf.* Close Roll, 20 Hen. III, m. 16; Pat. Rot., 16 Hen. III, m. 6.

[3] *Cf.* Close Roll, 15 Hen. III, m. 3.

[4] Pat. Rot., 40 Hen. III, m. 6. [5] Close Roll, 7 Hen. III, m. 15

[6] Pat. Rot., 18 John, m. 8. [7] *Ibid.*, 8 Hen. III, m. 10.

[8] For Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m 17.

was certainly held responsible in part for the proceedings of the foresters. Thus Walter de Snappe, the deputy constable, was called upon to answer jointly in the eyre of 1282 for the appointment of a defaulting forester by Walter de Aston, forester-in-fee of Blakeney.[1] In 1270 John Giffard was held responsible for the damage done in Abenhall bailiwick by Ralph of Abenhall with his permission.[2] But the control of the wardens over the foresters seems to have been somewhat precarious. If he were strong, he could perhaps enforce honesty; he could certainly on occasions be oppressive. Thus we are told that Roger de Clifford made Richard of Stanton, forester-in-fee, give sixpence a week for the stumps which he should have had for nothing;[3] and that Grimbald Pauncefote took the bailiwick of Thomas Waldyng to increase his foreign firm.[4] Probably all the foresters-in-fee, like those of Abenhall and Bicknor,[5] paid the rents due from their bailiwicks to the king's representative at St. Briavels. On the Pipe Roll of 33 Henry III the sum of £6 15s. "of the firms of the bailiffs of the Forest for their bailiwicks" appears among the issues of the Forest accounted for by Richard de Clifford. The sum exactly corresponds with the total amount declared on inquisition to be due from the foresters-in-fee.[6] There is no further mention of these rents in the Pipe Rolls. In the ordinary way they must have gone to make up the warden's firm. Whether this gave him any additional weight with the foresters it is hard to say. There is little evidence of any systematic restraint upon their proceedings. To judge from the inquisitions of 1244–8 and 1282, as far as the warden was concerned they went on their way unchecked. Their position was in many respects stronger than his. They were permanent officials, while he came and went. They were always on the spot, while he was frequently absent. True, his

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 29. m. 1*d*.
[3] Close Roll, 21 Hen. III, m. 19. [4] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 153.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 234. [6] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

deputy was there to watch their proceedings. But even if this were a man of some local standing, like Hugh of Kynardesley or Philip Wyther, he may well have found it difficult to impress his authority on the lords of the neighbouring manors.

In the absence of restraint, the foresters-in-fee showed themselves no more conscientious than their superiors. All the foresters-in-fee appointed and removed the foresters not in fee at will,[1] apparently with little regard to their character. John of Lea, Walter of Aston, and Ralph of Abenhall are each convicted of keeping in their service persistent poachers.[2] Many of the foresters have allowed assarts to be made.[3] Thomas of Blakeney is accused of permitting waste,[4] and Walter of Aston has damaged the trees of his bailiwick on his own account.[5] The depredations of Ralph of Abenhall in his bailiwick fill a large part of the records relating to waste in the Eyre Rolls of 1270 and 1282.[6] In the latter year it is stated that he has cut down trees and underwood in large quantities and kept the proceeds. Other forms of dishonesty are the embezzlement of fines and the appropriation of demesne lands. The jurors report that the lords of Dene, Abenhall, Ruardyn, and Bicknor agist diverse animals in the pasture of the Forest, and take fines they know not how much, whence the pasture is burdened.[7] The regarders in 1282 state that Ralph of Abenhall has impounded in Walmore Green the animals of the men of the district, and taken from them sixty geese, and keeps them for his own purposes, when they ought to be attached for the benefit of the king.[8] William of Dene is convicted of making extensive assarts on royal demesne,[9] and Ralph of Abenhall

[1] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 5; No. 30, m. 5 and 7; No. 31.
[3] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
[6] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 1*d.* and No. 30, m. 17.
[7] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[8] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 31. [9] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 14.

of receiving a penny a year for twenty-five years from an acre of demesne land which his grandfather William unlawfully granted out.[1] Most of the foresters-in-fee are returned as keeping dogs in the Forest against the assize.[2] But there is only one case of taking the king's deer. This last misdeed was laid to the account of that inveterate evildoer, Ralph of Abenhall.[3]

Detailed evidence of the foresters' misdeeds is only available for the period 1244–82. Even here there are gaps; for a reference to the transgressions of certain foresters which drew down punishment upon them in the year 1250 cannot be explained by any of the existing records. Entries on the Pipe Rolls show that the foresters were at an earlier period frequently failing in their duty.[4]

The scarcity of evidence makes it impossible to discover how far the foresters could go with impunity. There are many cases of fine and forfeiture on record; but it is hard to see on what principle they were exacted. Thus Ralph of Abenhall, one of the worst offenders, seems to have been let off very easily for the offences recorded. He gave pledges, indeed, "de misericordia" at the eyre of 1282;[5] he is charged with a sum of 40s. on some account unspecified on the Pipe Roll of 16 Edward I; but there is nothing else to show that he ever compensated the king for his numerous misappropriations. At an earlier date, on the other hand, the fines inflicted on the foresters-in-fee were occasionally very severe. In the first year of John the foresters of Bicknor, Abenhall, and Stanton were fined £5, 8 marks, and 10 marks respectively for neglect. In 10 John, Ralph Avenel had to pay 200 marks on the same account. In 31 Henry III the foresters of Lea, Blakeney, Ruardyn, Dene, and Stanton

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., 1, No. 30, m. 15*d*.

[2] *Ibid.*, K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25, and Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 8*d*.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 31. [4] *Cf.* Pipe Rolls, 1-10 John; 16 and 31 Hen. III.

[5] He was also fined 20s. "because he was not present, although repeatedly ordered not to depart as long as the justices were sitting." —For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30.

were charged with sums ranging from £5 10s. to £150 8s., for their prises in the Forest. In some cases their heirs were still paying instalments of the debt at the end of Edward I's reign.[1]

Moreover, it happened more than once that the king used his right to confiscate the bailiwick of a defaulting forester. The bailiwick of Stanton was thrice forfeited during the first half of the thirteenth century. On none of these occasions is the offence specified. In 1202 Henry of Stanton gave 60 marks for the custody formerly held by him and the land of which he had been disseised "on account of the Forest."[2] This forfeiture may have been connected with the "bad custody," which cost the same Henry 10 marks two years earlier.[3] In 1232 Richard of Stanton was charged 5 marks "pro balliva sua rehabenda."[4] He must have forfeited his bailiwick in consequence of some offence presented before John of Monmouth and others, justices in eyre in that year.[5] In 1250 he lost his bailiwick once more,[6] "for transgressions in the Forest," brought home to him in the eyre of Geoffrey of Langley. This time it was not recovered so easily. Not till fifteen years later was the bailiwick restored to Thomas, Richard's grandson, on condition that the custody should remain with Walter Wyther until the full age of the said Thomas.[7] Walter Wyther sold the custody to Richard de la More, who held it till Thomas was of age. Then Grimbald Pauncefote, taking advantage of the non-accomplishment of Luke de Thaney's eyre owing to the Welsh war, seized the custody and employed its profits to eke out his firm.[8] In 1290 Thomas apparently complained, for an inquisition was held into the matter, and Grimbald Pauncefote was ordered to restore the custody.[9]

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30, 29 Edw. I.
[2] Fin. Rot., 3 John, m 3. [3] Pipe Roll, 1 John.
[4] *Ibid.*, 16 Hen. III. [5] *Cf.* Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 9*d.*
[6] Fin. Rot., 34 Hen. III, Feb. 21st.
[7] Pat. Roll, 49 Hen. III, m. 2. [8] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 153.
[9] Close Roll, 18 Edw. I, m. 8.

The justices in 1250 seem to have been unusually severe, for the foresters of Blakeney, Dene, Lea, and Ruardyn shared the fate of Richard of Stanton.[1] The bailiwick of Lea was restored to John, son and heir of William of Lea and his successors "for ever" in 1265.[2] But the bailiwick of Blakeney passed into the hands of Walter de Aston, without, however, any of the lands belonging,[3] and was granted on his death to Henry of Pakenton, during good behaviour.[4] Nor do the foresters of Dene and Ruardyn seem ever to have regained possession. True, the custody of their respective bailiwicks is included in the return to the inquisitions *post-mortem* on William of Dene in 1259,[5] and William of Albamare in 1256[6] But the jurors seem to have been taking into account a proprietary right that had existed, and might exist again, rather than one that was actually in use. No mention of the bailiwick is made on the restoration of the Dene lands to the heir, Henry of Dene,[7] or on that of the lands of Ruardyn to the numerous heirs of William of Albamare.[8] In 1282 both bailiwicks were in the hands of the Crown.[9] Their subsequent history is somewhat obscure. In 1301 the "bailiwick of the forestry of Ruwardyn" was granted to Peter Dunn and William Bylling during good behaviour, on the testimony of John of Boteturte as to their long service.[10] In 1306 it was in the hands of Alexander of Bykenor, together with part of the lands formerly held by William of Albamare, and acquired by their present holder from Robert Urry, without the king's leave.[11] There is nothing to show what became of the bailiwick of William of Dene. No re-grant of it has been found, nor does it appear in the return to the inquisition *post-mortem* of Henry of Dene

[1] Fin. Rot., 34 Hen. III, Feb. 21st.
[2] Pat. Roll, 50 Hen. III, m. 37.
[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31, and No. 32, m. 1.
[4] Pat. Roll, 10 Edw. I, m. 8. [5] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. pt. iv. p. 27.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [7] Rot. Fin., 43 Hen. III, m. 3. [8] *Ibid.*, 40, m. 13.
[9] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
[10] Pat. Roll, 30 Edw. I, m. 38. [11] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 47.

in 1292.[1] In the history of the remaining forestership-in-fee there is no record of forfeiture. The bailiwick of Little Dean, which had somehow come into the hands of Ralph of Abenhall, was indeed in those of the king in 1282.[2] While John Bleyth had lost two-thirds of his bailiwick by the king's grant of a wood to the Abbey of Flaxley, and complained that he had to do full service for the remainder.[3] But, for the rest, we find the families who held it at the beginning of the thirteenth century in possession at the end. William Bleyth held the diminished bailiwick in 1307.[4] The foresters of Abenhall and of Stanton are still in possession in Edward III's reign.[5] In 1301 William Joce appears as a forester-in-fee;[6] and Cecilia de Muscegros,[7] the heiress of the Avenels, still holds her bailiwick of Bicknor. Nicolas of Lea does not appear as forester after 1282,[8] but this is probably accidental. It is noticeable that there are no records of forfeiture after the date of the earliest extant Eyre Roll (1258). Either the offences recorded in them were venial compared with those of an earlier date, or the Crown had become more lenient.

The name forester-in-fee is often loosely applied in the records to another class of hereditary officials, more properly termed sergeants-in-fee. Thus, of the nine foresters-in-fee, so called, who assisted in the perambulation of 28 Edward I[9] five are sergeants-in-fee. They or their predecessors are described explicity as such some twenty years earlier.[10] While the sergeants-in-fee towards the end of the period are frequently described as foresters-in-fee, the foresters proper are never called sergeants. Like the foresters, the

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 159. [2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[3] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 107. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 95.

[5] Chanc. I. P. M., 14 Edw. III, f. 15, and 15 Edw. III, f. 66.

[6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 255.

[7] Cf. *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 230; p. 1 (where she appears as Dulcia); and Rot. Fin., 20 Hen. III, m. 9.

[8] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[9] Printed in *Glos. Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. pt. i. No. 77.

[10] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 4.

sergeants-in-fee had the duty of guarding the Forest and attaching offenders; but, unlike them, they had not charge of a separate part of the Forest, but were supposed to keep watch over the whole of it.[1] The normal holding of the sergeant-in-fee in virtue of his sergeanty seems to have been twelve acres, and these are always described as "in St. Briavels." References to six of these sergeanties have been found in the inquisitions *post-mortem*.[2] In four cases the holding was twelve acres, in one twenty-four acres. In one case, that of Walter Wyther, the land was divided between his heirs, and his successor in the sergeanty held only six acres.[3] Another sergeant, John le Blund, is returned in the Hundred Rolls as holding twelve acres in St. Briavels.

It is not possible to give a complete list of the sergeanties-in-fee. The greatest number of sergeants mentioned at any one time is ten.[4] This is in 1220, the earliest date at which the use of the term has been found. In 1250 the names of eight are given as forfeiting their sergeanties.[5] Six of these correspond with names given at the earlier date, while three at least of the sergeanties not mentioned in the list were in existence before and after this date. In the claims presented by the sergeants-in-fee between 1279 and 1282[6] seven names appear, of which five, possibly six, correspond to the 1220 list, and four to that of 1250. The succession can be traced in six, if not seven, sergeanties throughout the thirteenth century. It would seem from the evidence that the number of sergeants-in-fee was from ten to twelve in the early half of the century, and from seven to nine in the latter. Many of the sergeants-in-fee were men of some local importance. Such were Sir Henry of Dene, who in 1261 inherited through his wife the sergeanty of William Lassenburg,[7] and William

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. pp. 43, 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 43; vol. v. pp. 95, 104.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 127. [4] Close Roll, 5 Hen. III, m. 9.
[5] Fin. Rot., 34 Hen. III, Feb. 21st.
[6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 4.
[7] Fin. Rot., 45 Hen. III, m. 5.

Hathewy, who was constable of St. Briavels from 1286 to 1291. Most of the sergeants held land over and above that attached to their sergeanty.

Like the foresters, the sergeants-in-fee were subordinate in theory to the warden.[1] Perhaps the connection was closer in their case. The sergeanty of William Boter was stated by the jurors to consist in going on foot through the whole Forest of Dene to attach for vert and venison and other things, by command of the constable.[2]

The service due is usually described as keeping the vert and venison in the Forest,[3] or as finding a sergeant to do the same.[4] Walter Wyther and his successor ought in addition to render a rose yearly at Michaelmas.[5] William Hathewy must be ready to give more practical assistance in the shape of a man and horse for forty days in time of war.[6] The last named is variously described as "seriant-de-fee à cheval,"[7] "chief sergeant-in-fee,"[8] and "chief forester of the lord king."[9] The sergeants as well as the foresters-in-fee might be called upon to aid the constable to keep the peace.[10] There is little evidence as to the relations between the foresters and sergeants; but it is clear that the latter could exercise their authority in the bailiwicks held by the former. Thus, an entry on the roll of 1282 states that the wood of Eywode, in the bailiwick of Abenhall, has been wasted both by Ralph of Abenhall and by the sergeants-in-fee and the sergeants under them, because when travelling and attaching throughout the whole Forest, when they came across charcoal burners and other evildoers to the vert, they often took money of them for permission and did not attach.[11]

The privileges claimed by the sergeants-in-fee were somewhat more modest than those of their fellow-officers.

[1] *Cf.* Pat. Rot., 8 Hen. III, m. 10. [2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 127.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. v. p, 104. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 24, 43.
[5] Char. Roll, 55 Hen. III, m. 7. [6] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 164.
[7] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 8. [8] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 107.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 164. [10] Pat. Rot., 16 Hen. III, m. 6.
[11] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 17.

Sir Henry of Dene in 1279–82 claimed housebote and haybote, dead and dry wood, a trunk at Christmas, by view of the constable, foresters and verderers, pannage and common throughout the Forest, except in the forbidden lawns.[1] William of Staure, William Boter, Thomas Warin, Robert of Aure, and Nicolas Godwy claimed the same. William Hathewy, "seriant-de-fee à cheval," claimed in addition to keep dogs coursing the fox and cat outside the covert.[2] He apparently claimed, too, that if his horse were killed under him by the king's fault (par mefesanz le roy), or in following the king's dogs when they coursed in the Forest, compensation should be given him. A letter close of 14 Henry III directs the constable to allow the king's sergeants of St. Briavels to have their pasture in the Forest and housebote and haybote, as they ought to have.[3]

There is little to show how the sergeants as a whole fulfilled their duties. Entries relating to them are much rarer than in the case of the foresters. Some three or four misdeeds only are laid to their account in the extant rolls,[4] in addition to the lapse from duty mentioned above. Six of them were called upon in the eyre of 1282 to find pledges that they would guard faithfully.[5] But at an earlier date eight sergeants-in-fee incurred heavy fines, rising in one case to 100 marks, on account of their prises in the Forest.[6] In 1250, three years later, six of these and two others suffered forfeiture in the eyre of Geoffrey of Langley on account of their transgressions in the Forest.[7] The record of only one restitution has been found, that of the bailiwick of Walter Wyther.[8] Three more of the defaulting sergeants or their heirs are found in possession at a later date. The other

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, m. 8. [3] m. 6.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 12, 14, 10; No. 28, m. 4.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 33.
[6] Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. III.
[7] Fin. Rot., 34 Hen. III, Feb. 21st; *cf.* Char. Roll, 36 Hen. III, m. 20.
[8] *Ibid.*

four do not reappear.[1] Only one sergeant makes his first appearance after 1250 to supply their place.

Below the hereditary foresters and sergeants were a host of lesser officials, removable at will—sergeants, foresters, woodwards, and boys. The term sergeant seems to be applied to foresters directly under the control of the warden, and attached to the Castle of St. Briavels. An entry on the Eyre Roll of 1282,[2] after describing the prises of the sergeants-in-fee, adds, "likewise the sergeants of the Castle of St. Briavels who were under Ralph of Sandwich and Walter de Snappe took for their own use two marks." The same term is also used, more generally, of the foresters provided by the sergeants, and in one case a forester-in-fee.[3]

Allusions to riding foresterships are rare. William of Dene was under the obligation to provide one man on horse, as well as two on foot, to keep his bailiwick.[4] In 1282 Richard "venator" or "le venur" is described as "forestarius eques.[5] He had perhaps inherited the duties of William of Dene's horseman. In 1299 the king granted to William Bleyth the "bailiwick of the forestership of Dene, late of Richard le Rydere, and now in the king's hands, to hold as Richard."[6] The bailiwick in question is probably identical with that of Richard venator. In 1307 it is stated that William Bleyth held, in addition to his hereditary bailiwick, "a certain bailiwick in the said Forest by the service of riding through the whole of the said Forest and surveying it, of the grant of the king for life. The said William is dead, and the king may give it to whomsoever he shall please without injury to anyone. The said bailiwick is of so little value that it cannot be estimated."[7] It is not clear whether

[1] It is possible, however, that William Godyer, who is named as a forester-in-fee in 1307, represents the family of Godwy, deprived in 1250.—*Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 95.

[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 32, m. 2; *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 24.

[4] *Ibid.* [5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[6] Pat. Roll, 27 Edw. I, m. 27. [7] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 95.

the riding forestership had been at one time hereditary; in any case, it had ceased to be so before the end of the century.

The foresters on foot were appointed either by the warden [1] or by the forester-in-fee in their own bailiwicks, [2] apparently with the warden's consent. [3] The duties of the former class extended over the whole Forest. [4] All foresters took an oath to guard faithfully [5] before the verderers in the swainmote. There is no evidence as to the method of appointing the boys who worked under the foresters and woodwards. The woodwards, strictly speaking, were foresters appointed by the owners of private woods within the Forest, and sworn before the justices to guard the royal rights within these woods. [6] But the name is loosely applied to the foresters provided by the foresters-in-fee to guard their bailiwicks, [7] or to the foresters-in-fee themselves. [8]

It is quite impossible to estimate the total number of foresters at any one time. Seven names have been found in the Eyre Roll of 1258, twelve in that of 1270, six in that of 1282. But this tells little. The five foresters-in-fee of Abenhall, Bicknor, Blakeney, Bleyth, and Dene alone provided nine foresters. The sergeants-in-fee probably contributed as many more. There is no clue to the number of sergeants or foresters more directly dependent on the constable. To these must be added the woodwards of at least some twenty-five private woods mentioned in the rolls. The foresters frequently, if not always, had to buy their posts, and repaid themselves at the expense of the neighbourhood, or of the king. "Robert Walays," we are told, "took fines from the foresters under him, and they all did evil to the king's Forest, and abetted other evildoers to the king's great hurt." [9] The foresters of Roger de Mortimer, John

[1] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d.*

[2] *Ibid.*, K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25. [3] Cf. *ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 7.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, No. 29, m. 1*d.* [5] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 7.

[6] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2*d.*

[7] *Cf. ibid.*, No. 32, m 1.

[8] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 42 Hen. III. [9] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d.*

Giffard, and Thomas de Clare were equally unsatisfactory. Cases of poaching by the foresters are recorded in all three Eyre Rolls.[1] As the officers in question were liable to removal "from day to day,"[2] they had to make the most of their time.

Of the verderers, who played such an important part in the forest administration, comparatively little is said in the extant records of Dean. From letters close to the sheriff ordering fresh elections where satisfactory candidates have not been chosen, it is clear that the office was expected to make considerable demands upon its holder. Residence within the Forest,[3] good health,[4] and freedom from other engrossing duties[5] were among the necessary qualifications. But, curiously enough, an entry on the Eyre Roll of 1282 suggests that the office could be held with that of deputy constable.[6] Six is the greatest number of verderers mentioned by name at any one time.[7] The earliest allusion to the office in connection with Dean has been found in a letter patent of John ordering the verderers, together with the foresters and sergeants to be intendant and responsible to the new warden, John of Monmouth.[8] It is not clear how far the verderers were actually subordinate to the warden.

It was the duty of the verderers to hold with the foresters the court of attachments or swainmote as it is usually called. There they inflicted fines for slight injuries to the vert, and enrolled the names of those accused of more serious trespass, together with their pledges, ready for presentment to the justices in eyre.[9] Here too the verderers received the oaths of newly-appointed foresters.[10] The names and pledges of

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 4*d*; No. 29, m. 5; No. 30, m. 5*d*, 6*d*, 10*d*.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 1*d*. and K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

[3] Close Roll, 5 Edw. II, m. 28. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 19 Edw. I, m. 3; 14 Edw. II, m. 8.

[6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, m. 5; (1282) five of these took part in an inquisition the year before. Cf. *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 120.

[8] 18 John, m. 8.

[9] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 33 and 10. [10] *Ibid.*, m. 7.

trespassers to the venison were enrolled, not in the swainmote, but after special inquisition in each case by the four neighbouring townships[1] before the verderers and foresters.

Further, the verderers were frequently employed with the foresters on inquisitions relating to land in the Forest and royal rights.[2] On one occasion at least they seem to have acted as arbitrators between the constable and an aggrieved inhabitant.[3] It was their business to "view," on occasion, the execution of royal grants,[4] and the collection of some, though not all, the perquisites claimed by the foresters-in-fee.[5] The verderers, foresters, and constable each kept their own roll of royal gifts from the Forest.[6] The verderers had the additional duty of representing the Forest in place of coroners when the king's justices came round for the pleas of the Crown,[7] and fulfilling coroners' functions within the Forest.[8]

In the Eyre Rolls the verderers are seldom mentioned otherwise than in their capacity of accusing jury. Only three cases of failure in their duty are noticed. In 1258 they were convicted of enrolling certain pledges without warrant.[9] In 1282 two of their number were fined for swearing-in a poaching forester;[10] and two for falsifying their rolls—rather clumsily, "in that they took out the names of the living and put in the names of the dead, as is seen by their roll."[11] In the same roll it appears that the "pleas of vert have not been pleaded up to this time in the swainmotes of the Forest and presented as they ought"; and an order was given to the constable, foresters, and verderers

[1] Cf. *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. xl. [2] Chanc. I. P. M., *passim*.
[3] Close Roll, 15 Hen. III, m. 3.
[4] Cf. *ibid.*, 15 Hen. III, m. 10.; 36, m. 23.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 32, m. 2, 5, 8.
[6] *Cf.* Chanc. Misc., B 3, No. 19.
[7] Maitland, *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.*, p. 182.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 392. [9] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 3.
[10] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 7. [11] *Ibid.*, m. 2*d*.

that henceforth all attachments should be made and pleaded reasonably, and that from everyone attached two safe pledges should be taken and enrolled.[1] How far the verderers acted as a restraining force upon their fellow-officials it is hard to say. There is only one instance on the rolls of disagreement with the constable,[2] and one with a forester-in-fee,[3] both in the interests of accused inhabitants.

The verderers' functions of preparing evidence for the justices in eyre for the Forest was shared by the regarders, chosen like them under the auspices of the sheriff. In theory the regarders made their inquisitions into encroachments on the royal rights in the Forest every three years. In practice they made it once at least, on receipt of an order from the Crown to the sheriff, before each forest eyre. Three such orders have been found relating to Dean.[4] Two regards were made in connection with the eyre of 1282.[5] The earliest reference to a regard seems to be in 1200. In this year Walter of Huntley rendered account of two marks "for the loss of the first regard of Dene, which was burnt in his house."[6] The regarders must have been valuable agents in directing the vengeance of the Crown; but the rare appearance of the contemporary warden on their rolls suggests that they were not altogether free from fear or favour. There is one instance of conflict with a forester-in-fee;[7] none of frictions between the regarders and the warden. On one occasion, at least, the regarders got into trouble for making a false presentment.[8]

Like the foresters-in-fee and the verderers, the regarders were men of some local standing. Yet another set of officials, the agisters, whose duty it was to collect the sums due for animals turned out to feed in the Forest, came from

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., m. 33. [2] *Ibid.*, m. 9*d*. [3] *Ibid.*, m. 4.
[4] Pat. Rot., 7 Hen. III, m. 5*d*; 8, m. 11*d*; 13, m. 9*d*.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 14. [6] Pipe Roll, 1 John.
[7] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 17.
[8] *Ibid.*, No. 28, m. 7, and Pipe Roll, 7; 13 Edw. I, Glouc.

the same class. It is in a financial capacity alone that they appear in the records of Dene.[1] They were probably more or less dependent on the warden. The sums in question went to make up his firm.[2]

The strength of the local element in the administration made it essential for the king to bring weighty influence from outside to bear upon it—influence which should be exercised whole-heartedly in the interests of the Crown. In the ordinary course, the central authority was represented by the justice of the forest south of Trent, and by the justices in eyre. All orders to admit to bail those imprisoned in St. Briavels for offences to the venison had to be obtained from the justice of the forest or from the king.[3] Orders for gifts of wood and venison were occasionally addressed to the justice, rather than to the warden.[4] His general responsibility for the Forest is illustrated by an order of 44 Henry III,[5] directing the justice of the forest this side of Trent to cause the Forest of Dene to be strictly kept, not permitting any deer to be taken except for the king's use. How much time the justice of the forest could have been able to spare for personal visits to the forests under his charge it is hard to see. Preparations were ordered to be made for his appearance in Gloucestershire in 1235.[6] In 1260 he was ordered to make a personal inquiry into frauds connected with the sale of wood in the Forest.[7] A list in the Eyre Roll of 1282 of "the prises and gifts of Roger de Clifford when justice of the forest"[8] suggests direct interference in another branch of the forest economy. But the justice of the forest must have been quite unable to exercise an adequate supervision of the doings of the forest officials.

Closer, if less constant, was the attention of the justices

[1] Pipe Roll, 32 Hen. III. [2] *Ibid.*, 3 Edw. I.
[3] *Cf.* Close Roll, 3 Edw. I, m. 4; 5 Edw. I, m. 12.
[4] *Ibid.*, 10 Edw. I, m. 7; 18, m. 12. [5] *Ibid.*, 44 Hen. III, pt. i. m. 14.
[6] Close Roll, 19 Hen. III, m. 1. [7] Fin. Rot., 44 Hen. III, m. 3.
[8] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 13*d*.

LIST OF FOREST EYRES IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

DATE.	NAMES OF JUSTICES.	AUTHORITY.
?1166–7 ..	Alan de Neville [1]	Pipe Roll, 13, 14 Hen. II, Glouc.
1169–70 ..	Alan de Neville (new pleas)	,, ,, 16, 17 ,,
1175–6 ..	Bertran de Verdun, William FitzStephen, Turstan Fitz-Simon	,, ,, 22 ,,
1178–9 ..	Thomas FitzBernard	,, ,, 5 ,,
1184–5 ..	Robert de Haseley and others	,, ,, 31 ,,
1186–7 ..	Robert le Broc, Robert de Haseley, and Nicolas le Bret (new pleas)	,, ,, 33 ,,
1190–1 ..	Geoffrey FitzPeter and Robert le Broc..	,, ,, 2 Ric.
1199—1200 ..	Hugh de Neville, Hugh Wac, T. de Sanford, Rob. de Veteri ponte	,, ,, 1 John
1208–9 ..	Hugh de Neville (new pleas)	,, ,, 10 ,,
1212–13 ..	Hugh de Neville [2]	,, ,, 14 ,,
1220–1 ..	Brian de Insula	,, ,, 5 Hen. III.
1229–31 ..	John de Monmouth, Ralph Musard	Close Roll, 14 Hen. III, m. 22*d*, and Pipe Roll, 15 Hen. III.
1232 ..	John de Monmouth, Hugh de Neville, and three others	Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, June 8th, and Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. III.

1235–6 ..	Gilbert de Segrave	Pipe Roll, 26 Hen. III, 28 Hen. III, 3 Edw. I resid., Glou.
?1241–2 ..	John FitzGeoffrey, Roger of Essex, and two others[3]	Pat. Rot., 26 Hen. III, m. 13*d*.
1246–7 ..	Robert Passelewe, Geoffrey de Langley, and others ..	Close Roll, 31 Hen. III, m. 15*d*, and Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. III.
1258 ..	William le Breton and three others (Jan. 20th)	Pat. Roll, 42 Hen. III, m. 15, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28.
1270 ..	Roger de Clifford, Matthew de Colombieres (Oct. 6th)	Pat. Roll, 53 Hen. III, June 9th, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29.
1282 ..	Luke de Tany, Adam Gurdun, and two others (Feb. 14th to 21st)	Close Roll, 10 Edw. I, m. 8, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30.

[1] Not specified as pleas of the forest, but Alan de Neville was justice of the forest from 12 Henry II (Dugdale, i. 287), and the roll contains many forest names.

[2] These seem to be fresh pleas, though not described as such.

[3] Appointment only recorded. A respite was granted shortly after, (Close Roll, 26 Hen. III m. 10*d*); it is not clear whether the eyre eventually took place or not.

in eyre. Evidence has been found for some nineteen visits during the period. It is impossible to give the exact date of the eyre in the majority of cases. Where the Pipe Rolls are the only authority, no date, as a rule, is mentioned, and fines do not always appear on the next roll after the date at which they have been incurred. Thus the eyre of Gilbert de Segrave, which is described on the Pipe Roll of 3 Edward I as taking place in 20 Henry III is first referred to on the roll of 28 Henry III. The dates given in the preceding list, therefore, are in great part approximate only.

It will be seen that the intervals between the eyres vary greatly, but tend to increase in the course of the thirteenth century. Under Henry II the average interval, from 1166 onwards, is rather less than four years. Only one eyre seems to have taken place under Richard I. Three appear to have been held under John. Between 1220 and 1250 the average is one in every five years. From the middle of the century the eyres become less frequent. Intervals of eleven and twelve years separate the three last eyres of Henry III; and a like period of twelve years elapsed before the only eyre of which record remains under Edward I. If we may judge from the silence of the records, no eyre took place in the last twenty-five years of Edward's reign. Record remains, however, of certain "fines and amercements of diverse men indicted for transgressions in the Forest before Roger Lestrange, justice of the forest south of Trent," in the county of Gloucester, between 21 and 25 Edward I, pending a fresh eyre.[1] Several fines in connection with the Forest make their first appearance on the Pipe Rolls of 22 and 23 Edward I; but it has not been possible to identify them with those imposed by Roger Lestrange.

To the rolls of the last three eyres, which alone survive, allusion has already been frequent. That of 1282 contains over 800 cases. The justices dealt out summary punishment to offenders, reserving only pleas in which barons were

[1] Exch. K. R. Accts. Forests, bdl. 535, No. 2.

concerned for a further hearing in the king's court.[1] The inclusion in 1258 of the lord Edward, son of the king, among those ordered to appear "coram rege,"[2] bears witness to their impartiality. But the justices were dependent on the evidence supplied by the local officials, and these, it has been noticed, showed themselves unwilling to incriminate the powers that be. Much of the contemporary maladministration escaped the justices' ears. Even such directions as they issued on the evidence supplied might be disobeyed as soon as their backs were turned.[3] While their visits were still frequent, the fear of them must have exercised some restraining force, but in the last half of the thirteenth century much might happen before they came round again.

Something was done to supplement their visits by the occasional appointment of men unconnected with the forest administration to make special inquiry into trespasses. One such inquisition was made in the early years of Henry III under the auspices of the sheriff, Ralph Musard, and another.[4] The "Verdict of the Three Foreign Hundreds" was probably the outcome of an inquisition which Richard de Clifford and two others were ordered to make in 1244 on certain articles concerning the Forest.[5] Three years earlier, respite had been granted of an inquiry into trespasses and wastes in the Forest.[6] Beyond this, the king frequently employed outside officials on such business as the inspection of forges,[7] the clearing of paths,[8] and the sale of wood.[9]

[1] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 4, 5*d*, 8; No. 28, m. 1; No. 30, m. 12*d*, 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 28, m. 8.

[3] *Cf.* their prohibition of charcoal-burning in 1270 (For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 2), and the infringements of it recorded in 1282 (*ibid.*, No. 30. m. 17).

[4] Dep. Keeper's Rep. 5, app. 2, p. 76; *cf.* Pat. Rot., 3 Hen. III, m. 3*d*.

[5] *Ibid.*, 28 Hen. III, m. 6*d*. [6] Close Roll, 25 Hen. III, m. 2.

[7] *Cf.* Pat. Rot., 21 Hen. III, m. 11, and 39 Hen. III, m. 13*d*.

[8] Fine Roll, 39 Hen. III.

[9] Pat. Roll, 29 Edw. I. m. 15, and Pipe Roll of the same year.

The activities of the sheriff within the Forest must have served as an additional restraint upon the forest officials. The officer in question seems to have played a much larger part in the administration than might have been supposed. In the ordinary course he shared with the constable the responsibility for producing defaulters dwelling in the Forest,[1] and collecting the fines for forest offences.[2] It was not until nearly the middle of the thirteenth century that the constable begins to account in part for the fines.[3] It is hard to see on what principle the responsibility in later years was divided. On the Pipe Roll of 20 Edward I, for instance, the constable accounts for the fines paid by three of the sergeants-in-fee, while the sheriff accounts for the payment of a fourth. Added to the sheriff's financial and police duties was the business of providing for the election of verderers and regarders and the making of the regard.[4] But beyond this we find him joined with the constable in executive or semi-judicial functions within the Forest. Thus in 1231 the Sheriff of Gloucester and the Constable of St. Briavels were ordered to assign to the Abbey of Flaxley two acres of meadow in Radmore,[5] as the abbot had taken more than he ought. In 1234 the sheriff was directed to go with the constable and coroner to the Abbey of Flaxley and order the departure of certain folk who "are against the king's peace."[6] Who these folk were, we learn from two subsequent orders. The second of these directs the sheriff to allow the men armed with bows, arrows, and hatchets, sent to keep watch over the abbey where Richard Marshall's men are, to go home and to retain the others.[7] In 1283 the sheriff and constable together were ordered to view all the weirs and nets in the Severn and Wye;[8] and further to assess

[1] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 4*d* and *passim.*
[2] Pipe Rolls, *passim.* [3] *Ibid.*, 26 Hen. III.
[4] *Cf.* Pat. Rot., 8 Hen. III, m. 11*d.*
[5] Close Roll, 15 Hen. III, m. 10.
[6] *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III, m. 28. [7] *Ibid.*, m. 28*d.*
[8] Pat. Roll, 11 Edw. I, m. 16.

land of the waste of the Forest up to £20 value.[1] In 1274 an inquisition concerning the claim of Sir Hervey de Cadurcis to a forge in the Forest was made before the sheriff and Sir William le Blund, deputy constable.[2] Twice at least the sheriff was ordered to make a special inquiry into the state of the Forest, on the appointment of a new warden.[3] In 1231 he had charge of the Forest for two months during a vacancy.[4] Of the nature of his relations with the forest officials there is a hint only in the records. A letter close of 10 Henry III directed the sheriff to prevent the monks of Flaxley from being molested in respect of the wood round the abbey granted by the king.[5] If we may judge from the absence of further complaints, the sheriff's action was effective. What means of pressure he could bring to bear on warden or foresters is never explained. Even when the work of justices and commissioners and sheriff had been done, the forest officials retained, it would seem, a large measure of independence.

III.

PROFITS OF THE FOREST.

The royal profits from the Forest were, roughly speaking, of four kinds. First, the revenue derived from rents, dues, etc., usually farmed by the warden, who paid a fixed sum into the Exchequer; secondly, sales of produce not included in the firm; thirdly, profits in kind; and lastly, fines.

For over a hundred years the first of these sources of revenue was valued at £10. In the 31st year of Henry I £13 was paid into the Exchequer as the rent of the Forest of Dene and the Hayes of Hereford. In the 2nd year of Henry II £10 represented the firm of the former and £3 that of the latter.[6] From the 2nd to the 10th year of

[1] Pat. Roll, 11 Edw. I, m. 16. [2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 72.
[3] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 22, and 33 Hen. III, m. 10.
[4] Fine Roll, 15 Hen. III, Sept. 11th, 16th, and Nov. 17th. [5] m. 11.
[6] In the Pipe Roll of 4 Hen. II both Roger de Powis and Hugo Forestarius are charged with the rent of the Hayes of Hereford.

Henry II, with an inexplicable variation in the 8th year, £10 is regularly entered on the Pipe Rolls as the rent due from the Forest of Dean. In the 2nd and 3rd years payment was excused. From 1157 to 1164 Roger de Powis was granted respite "as long as he guards the Castle of St. Briavels." After 1164 the rent was remitted in consideration of the constable's services in guarding the Castle and Forest.[1] Payment was resumed in 6 Richard I, and was continued at the rate of £10 per annum till 1229.[2] There are no accounts for 1229–31. P. de Rivallis' appointment in 1232 at £20 a year was made retrospective to cover the year 1231–2. In 1232 P. de Rivallis was ordered to pay £20 for the year 1231–2. £20 for 1231–2 was charged later to P. de Rivallis, appointed 1232.

The following table shows the variations in the firms from 1232 onwards :—

DATE.	AMOUNT.			AUTHORITY.[3]
	£	s.	d.	
1232	20	0	0	Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. III.
1236	40	0	0	,, 20 ,,
1237	50	0	0	,, 21 ,,
1241	60	0	0	,, 29 ,,
1247	166	13	4	,, 33 ,,
1248	170	0	0	,, 33 ,,
1255	140	0	0	,, 40 ,,
1272	100	0	0	For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30.
1281	140	0	0	Pipe Roll, 13 Edw. I.
1287	160	0	0	,, 15 ,,

As a rule, the grant made to the constable in consideration of the yearly sum agreed on is described loosely as the custody of the Castle of St. Briavels and of the Forest of Dene, with its appurtenances and all the issues thereof.[4] But in one case—the grant to Robert Walerand—a list is given of the sources of revenue concerned.[5] They may be divided roughly into

[1] Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II. [2] *Cf.* p. 228.
[3] *Cf.* also the authorities given in the list of wardens' appointments.
[4] *Cf.* Pat. Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 10. [5] Fine Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 21.

seven classes: (1) issues of the royal demesne and of the weirs; (2) tolls and customs; (3) profits from iron and coal; (4) rent of forges; (5) pannage; (6) small sales—fallen trees, nuts, herbage; (7) perquisites of the forest and hall moot. The value of each of these items is estimated in an undated document of the reign of Henry III, headed, "*Exitus annuus foreste de S. Breavello.*"[1] It must have been drawn up before 1256, the year in which William of Albamare, one of those who make inquisition, died;[2] and was probably later than 1233, the year in which the same William fined for his lands.[3] An examination of its contents would incline us to place it between the years 1247 and 1255. It may be compared with the extant accounts for those years[4] in which the profits were paid direct into the Exchequer. Together, they serve to illustrate the relation of the firm to the value of the Forest in the later period.

In the following table the proceeds of the sale of timbers on a large scale, which were never included in the firm, are omitted. The profits of the great forge at St. Briavels seem to have been included only between the years 1247 and 1255. Wardship, relief and marriage of the foresters and sergeants-in-fee were expressly reserved to the Crown in 1246.[5] There is no evidence that they were ever included in the warden's grant. Their value would appear to have been considerable: as much as £100 was paid on one occasion for the custody of the land and the marriage of the heir of a forester-in-fee.[6] The firm of certain royal demesnes in the Forest, such as the manors of Newnham and Aure and, during part of the period

[1] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 26.

[2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 17. J. le Blund, another juror, was dead in 1258, and W. of Dene in 1259, *ibid.*, p. 24, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2.

[3] Fine Roll, 17 Hen. III, part i. ap. 22.

[4] 1246–7, 1255, 1275–8. *Cf.* Pipe Rolls, 33, 40 Hen. III, and 4, 6, 9 Edw. I.

[5] Fine Roll, 31 Hen. III, part i., May 22nd.

[6] Pipe Roll, 2 Hen. III; *cf.* Mem. Roll L. T. R., No. 2.

ITEMS OF REVENUE.	Valuation before 1256	1246–7	1255 Jan.–Nov.	1275–6	1276–7	1277–8	1279–80
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
(i) Ann. rents with weirs	44 11 10	35 18 9	44 11 10	42 0 6	42 0 6	42 0 6	42 0 6
Demesne of St. Briavels	5 0 0	..	5 0 0	..	..	..	..
(ii) Severn custom on coal and ore	24 0 0	23 6 8	..	26 16 3	26 2 0	24 12 0	23 0 0
Chiminage	1 0 0	0 13 4	..	3 0 0	3 6 8	3 6 8	2 16 6
(iii) Ore and coal leased ..	10 16 0	3 0 0	} 23 1 4	23 16 9½	23 18 11	24 6 0	23 19 0
Great ore	17 0 0	..					
(iv) Rent of foreign forges	9 2 0	8 18 0	8 4 6	11 1 4	13 6 1½	14 10 0	12 0 0
(v) Pannage	20 0 0	..	..	0 8 5½	24 1 0	26 3 4	6 15 3
(vi) Fallen trees and boughs	10 0 0	..	} 21 0 0	6 1 10	4 17 6	6 10 0	5 0 0
Herbage	5 0 0	5 0 0		6 10 1½	} 6 0 7	4 12 8	4 3 2
Nuts and chestnuts ..	0 13 4	..	0 7 8	..			
"Cordarii"	0 3 0	..	..	..	..	..	..
"Creblarii"	0 4 0	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cinders	0 6 8	..	..	5 15 0	6 18 9	..	..
(vii) Pleas and perquisites of the manor and forest	5 0 0	5 10 0	15 2 10	21 3 10	24 3 10	26 7 0	26 10 0
Severn fishery (*sic*) ..	..	..	18 0 0	..	..	..	..
Sale of stock	..	..	..	3 6 8	..	22 13 4	16 0 0
King's great forge ..	50 0 0	24 0 0	22 10 0	..	..	..	..
Other forges	..	..	4 9 3	..	..	..	..
Totals	202 16 10	106 6 9	162 7 5	150 0 9½	174 15 10½	195 1 6	162 4 5

Rodley and Minstreworth, was excluded throughout from the revenue which went to make up the firm of the Forest.[1]

The total proceeds for the 7th and 9th years of Edward I are also given on the Pipe Rolls,[2] but no separate items. Excluding sales of timber, the receipts in these years were £175 15s. 11d. and £163 8s. 8d. Some explanation of the items in the accounts given should perhaps be made. The "annual rents with the weirs" of the estimate are described in 1255 as "assessed rents of St. Briavels, Newland and the Forest of Dene." In 1246–7 the corresponding entry comprises £28 7s. 9d. assessed rent, 15s. 4d. the issues of two mills, and £6 15s. 8d. the firms of the bailiffs of the Forest for their bailiwicks. It would seem, therefore, that these last two items were included as a rule in the "annual rents." Why the demesne of St. Briavels returned £5 in addition to this, on one occasion only, is not clear.[3] The Severn custom is explained in the estimate as ½d. on every load of sea coal taken beyond the Severn. At this date it was sublet. In 1246–7 the corresponding sum is said to be derived "from a certain water custom for taking ore into Wales. Elsewhere it is described merely as the "issues of the Severn custom."[4] The toll levied on transport by land is described in the return of profits as "chiminage through the Forest towards Gloucester." It is never explained whether chiminage was levied only in connection with ore or on loads of all sorts.

The revenue derived from ore and sea coal is entered under two headings in the estimate: first, "foreign (*forinsece*) mines and sea coal"; secondly, "great mines." In 1246–7 £3 appears as the "profits of the mines" simply. From 1255 the revenue in question is described as the "issues of the greater and lesser mines and sea coal." The

[1] Pipe Rolls, *passim; cf.* Close Roll, 46 Hen. III, m. 10. [2] 8 and 9 Edw. I.

[3] In the Hundred Rolls (4 Edw. I) the manors of St. Briavels and Newland are valued at £33 a year.

[4] It seems probable that the "fishery" alluded to in the account of 1255 alone should read "custom."

royal rights in this connection are explained in the "Verdict of the Three Foreign Hundreds"[1] and in the regard of 1282.[2] The first of these is here badly mutilated. From the second, it appears that the king's perquisites were as follows:—(1) In the bailiwicks of Bearse and Micheldean 1d., and in the bailiwick of Stanton ½d. a week from every workman taking three bushels of ore and over; the right to have one man working in each mine at 2d. a day and to receive his share of ore. (2) In the bailiwicks of Abenhall and Micheldean, six bushels of ore a week on payment of 6d.; in Bearse, twenty-four for 2s., and in Stanton, ore for his itinerant forge at 1d. a bushel, half the current price according to the Verdict. (3) ½d. from every bushel taken out of the Forest. The ore in the remaining bailiwicks was claimed by the foresters-in-fee or others. The whole revenue from these mines was farmed in 1282 at £46 a year.[3] In the same regard it is stated that the king has the sea coal found in the bailiwicks of Bearse, Ruerdean, Micheldean and Littledean. According to the Verdict, the constable had also the right to certain dues in Blakeney and Stanton. Private forges, in the thirteenth century at least, paid rent to the king at the rate of 7s. a year during the time which they were actually at work.[4]

The character of the "pleas and perquisites of the manor and Forest" which appear on the accounts of 1255–80 is nowhere described. The fact that Ralph of Sandwich was charged on the Eyre Roll of 1282 with the attachments of vert in the 4th and 5th years of Edward I[5] suggests that these last were not included in the pleas and perquisites of those years accounted for by him. In 1246 the corresponding entry on the constable's account records the receipt of 50s.

[1] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25. [2] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[3] *i.e.* the receipts entered under Sections II and III in the table given on p. 222.

[4] For. Proc Tr. of Rec., No. 31, and K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

[5] *Ibia.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 1*d.*

from the pleas of the Forest concerning dead and dry wood, 40s. from the pleas of the hall moot, and 20s. for the escape of pigs in the Forest.[1] The value of the pleas, whatever they were, seems to have increased considerably during the second half of the thirteenth century.

In the Hundred Rolls the "Forest of St. Briavels," excluding the manors of St. Briavels and Newland, is said to be worth with pleas and perquisites, mine ore, pannage and herbage, and other appurtenances, £37 a year.[2] The estimate is unaccountably low.

It will be noticed that the amount of the firm from 1247 onwards[3] does not vary, with one exception, by more than £20 from the total value of the sources of revenue estimated, excluding that of the great forge; but that the firms paid some ten or twenty years before this date are out of all proportion to it. This may be partly explained in two ways. In the first place, some at least of the profits in question were separately accounted for at the Exchequer during the earlier period. This was perhaps the case with the income derived from the Manor of St. Briavels, which does not seem to have been included in the original grant to Gilbert Basset,[4] and may not have been held by his predecessors, though the Pipe Rolls say nothing of a separate account. It was certainly the case up to 1229 with the rent of many assarts[5] later included in the revenue which went to make up the firm. The receipts from pannage, too, appear separately on the Pipe Rolls prior to the grant of the Forest with all its issues to Peter de Rivallis in 1232.[6] It is possible that all the revenue derived from private forges passed through the hands of the justices in eyre in the form of fines. In the reigns of Henry II and John occasional payments "*pro saisina fabrice*" or simply "*pro fabrica*," ranging from one to ten marks, appear among the Forest

[1] Pipe Roll, 33 Hen. III. [2] Vol. i. p. 176. [3] *Ante*, p. 220.
[4] Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 10 and m. 26.
[5] *Cf.* Pipe Rolls, 1 John to 13 Hen. III. [6] Cf. *ibid.*, 3 Edw. I.

pleas.[1] It is not clear whether they were made in addition to, or instead of, an annual rent. If the latter, such payments must have been usually included under some general head. The half-dozen entries relating expressly to forges during the reigns of Henry II and John cannot possibly represent the whole amount raised in this period. Over twenty forges are referred to at a later date as in existence at this time.[2]

How far the scantiness of the firm may be further explained by the absence of later sources of wealth, the lack of early accounts makes it difficult to guess. There is some evidence to show that the dues and perquisites derived from iron ore and sea coal were considerably less profitable in the earlier period. As late as 1247 they produced, according to the constable's account, only £3 in the year. There is no reference to the "great mineral," whose value was estimated at £17 shortly after this time. Perhaps, too, the duty laid upon its export across the Severn was only invented in the thirteenth century. It was apparently only after 1247 that the value of the rents and weirs rose to £44 11s. 10d. It is unlikely that the profits derived from the sale of fallen trees, nuts and herbage should have been subject to any great increase, or that the receipts from pleas and perquisites came at any time to much less than £5.

When every allowance has been made, it seems clear that the Forest was farmed for long at a sum considerably below its value. The discrepancy was probably most marked in the early years of Henry III's reign, when many, if not all, the sources of revenue described in the estimate of 1247–56 had been already tapped. More especially was this the case after 1232, when further revenues were handed over to the constable. The Forest at this date must have been worth something between £80 and £150. Yet in 1232 it was farmed for £20 a year; even in 1245 it still brought in only

[1] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. II; 1 and 10 John, Glouc.

[2] Cf. *Q. V. Hist. of Glos.*, vol. ii. p. 216.

£60. This was less by two-thirds than the sum derived in 1246–7 from those sources of revenue which went as a rule to make up the firm.[1] It was two-fifths only of the amount at which the revenue was valued within ten years of the date.

Before the middle of the thirteenth century the Crown, it would seem, took little trouble in the matter; otherwise the firm could scarcely have remained unchanged for nearly forty years (1195–1232). Even in 1232 no serious attempt was made to ascertain the real value of the Forest. Henry III contented himself for many years with exacting a little more from each constable than that paid by his predecessor. What led to the sudden increase of the firm in 1247 it is hard to say. Perhaps Henry, driven by his growing necessities to see "if more could be had of it than is had," ordered for the first time a thorough investigation into the resources of the Forest. The estimate which survives[2] may be the result. It shows at least that there were sources of wealth which made no contribution to the constable's account as late as 1246. Their addition to the items accounted for in that year, together with the great forge valued at £50, would make the Forest a profitable speculation at £166 13s. 4d. per annum,[3] the sum which Richard de Clifford agreed to pay in 1247. In 1255 the profits of the great forge were again reserved by the Crown,[4] and the warden allowed a reduction of £30 in their place. There is no clue to the reason for a further decrease by £40 in 1272. The "whole issues of the Forest"[5] granted to William de Beauchamp in that year must have been worth far more than £100 per annum. Their average value during the years 1276–81, excluding the proceeds of timber sales, was £170. Under Edward I attempts to make the fullest possible profit were more consistent. The firm as fixed in 1281 (at £140) still

[1] Exclusive of pannage, which made no contribution in this year.
[2] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 26. [3] Raised to £170 in 1248.
[4] Fine Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 21.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30.

left a fair margin for the warden's profits. Its increase by £20 six years later, in the absence of a substantial rise in the revenue, must have forced him to fall back on less recognised sources of income.

By the terms of the royal grant, the firm should have been paid into the Exchequer in two half-yearly instalments, at Easter and Michaelmas. At the latter season an account of expenses was presented and their amount deducted. In practice payments were very irregular. There are many years for which no account is made on the Pipe Rolls. The longest gap from 1195 onwards is between 1263 and 1276. During this period one payment of £50 appears on the Wardrobe accounts [1] for 56 Henry III, and two payments of £50 and £15 respectively on the Receipt Rolls [2] for the first and second years of Edward I; but this is all. The fact that the Forest had been granted to Prince Edward in 1266 may account for the non-appearance of the firm upon the rolls from this date to the end of Henry III's reign. But if so, how did part of the firm find its way to the wardrobe in Henry's last year? The Exchequer officials contented themselves with charging the annual firm year by year to John Giffard, who held office from 1263 to 1265. In the 10th year of Edward I the firm for the last nineteen years was laid to his account, regardless of the fact that three successors had come and gone, and that one of these had duly rendered his accounts. In the same roll another entry records that the firm has been owing for sixteen years. It would be hard to explain these vagaries. Other gaps are to be found between 1195 and 1198, 1229 and 1234, 1281 and 1287. It is impossible to explain the first of these, or the absence of any account for the 14th and 15th years of Henry III. In the 16th, [3] 17th and 18th year the defaulter was Peter de Rivallis. The Exchequer officials in revenge continued to

[1] Bdl. 350, No. 6.

[2] Rec. Roll And. 1 and 2 Edw. I, No. 19, and Pells 2 Edw. I, No. 45.

[3] The appointment was presumably retrospective.—Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. III.

charge him with the firm for three years after his ejection, although his successor was duly accounting for them.[1] Between 1281 and 1287 the Forest was held by Grimbald Pauncefote. The Exchequer officials do not appear to have discovered his existence until 1285.[2] Even then no account was forthcoming, though a payment of £30 "of the firm of St. Briavels" is recorded on one of the Receipt Rolls of that year.[3] A like oversight occurs in connection with the firm for the 30th, 31st, half the 32nd, and the 39th years of Henry III. These are all accounted for on the Pipe Rolls, with the exception of the first half of the 30th year and the first quarter of the 39th; yet the payments due for them continue to be charged year after year.[4] There is another discrepancy in the account for the 14th and 15th years of John. This is an exact duplicate of that given for the 12th and 13th years.[5] It includes, among other items, a payment to William Marshall of six years' arrears, which would thus have been paid twice over.

Six wardens in all[6] seem to have presented no accounts; those of three others are incomplete.[7] Even when the responsibility was rightly fixed by the Exchequer, and the attendance of the warden secured, payment was not always to be had. At least five of those whose accounts are presented[8] left office more or less heavily in debt. In some cases, no doubt, the debt was made good in yearly instalments. Amaury de S. Amand, with a debt of £153 7s. 4d., was ordered in 1240 to pay fifty marks a year.[9] William Hathewy, who owed £200 on his departure from office in 1291, paid up nearly half the amount before the end of the period.[10] Emery de Cancellis compounded for his debt

[1] Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. III. [2] *Ibid.*, 9 to 13 Edw. I. [3] Pells, No. 63.

[4] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 33 and 40 Hen. III and 5 Edw. I.

[5] *Ibid.*, 13 and 15 John, comp. de Merleberg.

[6] G. Basset, P. de Rivallis, R. de Mortimer, J. Giffard, T. de Clare, G. Pauncefote. [7] H. de Neville, Rog. de Clifford, W. de Beauchamp.

[8] R. de Powis, A. de S. Amand, E. de Cancellis, P. Chaceporc, W. Hathewy.

[9] Pipe Roll, 24 Hen. III, Oxon. [10] *Ibid.*, 19 and 34 Edw. I.

(£168 13s. 2d.) with many others at the rate of £100 a year.[1] Some effort was made also to recover payment from Grimbald Pauncefote[2] and from William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.[3] In three cases—those of Roger de Powis, Peter Chaceporc and John Giffard—the debts were pardoned.[4] What happened to other defaulting wardens there is no evidence to show.

In view of frequent gaps, occasional discrepancies, and a tendency here and there to merge this in other accounts, the difficulty of arriving at an estimate of the total receipts from the revenue under discussion has been considerable. The following calculations have been made with as near an approach to accuracy as the conditions of the task would allow.

The proceeds of those years in which the Forest is known to have been farmed should apparently have amounted in accordance with varying rates[5] to £7,906 13s. 4d. £20 should probably be added to this for the 14th and 15th years of Henry III. The firm in this case is not specified, but there is every reason to believe that it was £10, as in preceding years. A further sum of £1,252 17s. 10d. represents the proceeds of those years in which the wardens' receipts were paid direct into the Exchequer. It does not include the profits from the great forge or from the sale of timber. The revenue of the Forest from September, 1263, to January, 127½, should in all probability have been accounted for in the same way. This is expressly stated in the grant to John Giffard in 1263,[6] though not in that to Thomas de Clare in 1265.[7] A rough estimate of its amount may be made by taking as the average proceeds of these years a sum half-way between that realised in 1255 and that

[1] *Ibid.*, 32 Hen. III, and Pat. Rot., 31 Hen. III, m. 5.

[2] Close Roll, 8 Edw. II, m. 19.

[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 28.

[4] Pipe Roll, 28 Hen. II and 38 Hen. III; Pat. Rot., 49 Hen. III, m. 2.

[5] *Cf.* p. 220. [6] Pat. Rot., 47 Hen. III, m. 8. [7] *Ibid.*, 49, m. 17.

realised in 1279.[1] The former date is nine years before the beginning, the latter nine years after the end of the period in question. The estimate is low, because the profits of 1255 were those of January to November only, though most of the rents due for the whole year seem to be included in it. This gives an average value of £151 0s. 10d. for each of 8¼ years, or a total of £1,246 1s. 10½d. The total value, then, of this branch of revenue between 1154 and 1307 should have been as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Proceeds of the firm during 96¼ years ..	7,926	13	4
Profits in 1246–7, 1255, 1276–81 (8 years)	1,252	17	10
Probable profits in 1263–72 (January) (8¼ years)	1,246	1	10½
	£10,425	13	0½

£7,365 only has been traced in the extant accounts. Of this it is calculated that a little over £3,500 was paid into the Exchequer or, in a few cases, the Wardrobe.[2] The rest was expended by the warden on the king's behalf.

Scarcely any of the expenses recorded are connected with the administration of the Forest. With one exception, only those few wardens who paid their receipts direct into the Exchequer were entitled to deduct a salary. Thus Richard de Clifford deducted £59 9s. for the custody of the Castle from Easter, 1246, to 1247.[3] Ralph of Sandwich received £50 a year for this and other custodies.[4] Of the wardens who farmed the Forest, Gilbert Basset alone was granted a salary of £20 out of the firm.[5] There is evidence to show, however, that one at least of the wardens who farmed the Forest at an earlier date received a salary of 55 marks at the Exchequer.[6] If this were the rule prior to 1232, the

[1] Excluding those of the great forge.
[2] Nearly two-thirds of this was paid in after 1272.
[3] Pipe Roll, 33 Hen. III. [4] *Ibid.*, 4 Edw. I.
[5] Pat. Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 26. [6] *Ibid.*, 14 Hen. III, m. 1.

warden's salary must have swallowed up far more than the annual proceeds of the firm. There is no evidence of the payment of wardens other than those described after this date. Entries in the Eyre Rolls and the regard of 1282 suggest that the warden repaid himself in kind. The lesser forest officials received no salary, nor do any sums appear to have been deducted from the firm for the protection or improvement of the Forest, with the possible exception of a pension of ten marks a year to Mabel de Cantilupe between 1249 and 1260, in quit claim of her right to take wood for her forge.[1]

The upkeep of the Castle received more attention. The salary of the deputy constable at 6d. a day, and of the janitor and watch at a quarter of this sum, appear indeed only in the accounts of Ralph of Sandwich,[2] who answered for receipts as well as expenditure at the Exchequer. Other wardens must have paid the salaries in question out of their own pockets or those of the neighbourhood. But the chaplain's salary of 50s. a year is a regular item in the accounts between 1239 and 1263. The unwonted expenses of a garrison were taken into consideration in 1300, and allowance was occasionally made for the purchase of munition[3] and for the expenses of Welsh and Scottish prisoners in the Castle.[4] The Castle cost frequent and often large sums to keep in repair. Over £1,000 was spent on it out of the revenue of the Forest during the period, in addition to at least one large contribution from other sources.[5]

A greater number of entries relate to the purveyance of wood and venison, the manufacture and carriage of quarrels and other weapons, and the transport of miners and men-at-arms. These expenses should be considered in connection with the profits in kind derived from the Forest.

The remaining expenditure had little connection with the

[1] Pipe Rolls, 34–44 Hen. III.
[2] *Ibid.*, 4 and 9 Edw. I. [3] *e.g.* 28 Edw. I.
[4] *e.g.* 24 and 32 Edw. I. [5] *Ibid.*, 13 John, rot. 14.

warden's duties of custody. It included payments of all sorts, pensions to dispossessed Welshmen [1] or papal officials, [2] expenses of a mission to Rome, [3] and so forth. Such contributions to the general expenses of the State amounted in all to some £500, exclusive of the large sums merged in a general account by Ralph of Sandwich. From 1287, with two exceptions, comparatively little was deducted from the firm by the warden. By far the greater part was paid into the Exchequer.

To sum up, the Crown owed to this branch of revenue, during the period 1195 to 1307, the upkeep of St. Briavels Castle, the cost of purveyance on a considerable scale, some contributions to general expenses, and a certain amount of ready money. From 1195 to 1232 the annual payments into the Exchequer averaged about £4 10s.; from 1232 to 1272, £24 5s.; and from 1272 to 1307 a little over £57. On the other side must be set the salary (amounting in one case to 55 marks a year) received perhaps by more than one constable at the Exchequer prior to 1232. Between 1156 and 1195 the revenue which would otherwise have gone to make up the firm was devoted exclusively to the maintenance of the constable of St. Briavels. In the first two years of Henry II, and in the later years of Henry I, the Castle was maintained by other means, and the Crown received a firm of £10 or its equivalent.

It has already been noticed that the scantiness of the revenue derived from the firm of the Forest up to the middle of the thirteenth century may be explained in part by the existence of other sources of income, not as yet included in it. Of these the rents of certain assarts and the receipts from pannage were separately accounted for up to 1229; the profits from the royal forges appear independently on the accounts up to 1246. After their inclusion in the firm there still remained the proceeds of the sale of wood accounted for

[1] Pipe Roll, 49 Hen. III, comp. of R. Walerand.

[2] *Ibid.*, 35 Hen. III, comp. of P. Chaceporc.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34 Hen. III, comp. of P. Chaceporc.

independently throughout the whole period. The profits of the great forge were separately charged at the Exchequer between 1255 and 1281 at least,[1] but the account is nowhere forthcoming.

The earliest entry relating to the firm of assarts has been found in the Pipe Roll of 1 John. It gives 6s. as the annual payment due from five natives of St. Briavels and Rudeley on that account. After this date fresh sums appear from time to time for the rent of new assarts. By 1229 the annual value of such rents had reached £16 3s. 1d. The whole amount derived from them between the years 1200 and 1229 should have been something like £190. From 1213, when the yearly value first rose beyond 6s., they were accounted for by the constable with very fair regularity. But as these accounts are more than once involved with those of escheated estates in the Forest, it is impossible to ascertain the exact amount that found its way into the Exchequer. No working expenses appear on the accounts; but payments made for the carriage of wood, iron, etc., are occasionally deducted. Roughly, this source of revenue provided the Crown during the period 1200–1232 with an average yearly sum of about £6 5s., or its equivalent, an amount equal to nearly two-thirds of the annual firm of the Forest in those years.[2]

It is quite impossible to estimate the total value of the receipts from pannage up to the year 1232. In the twelfth century the pannage of Dean is not always distinguished on the Pipe Rolls from that of other forests.[3] When entered separately, it does not necessarily appear under Gloucestershire.[4] An exhaustive search of the unprinted rolls from

[1] *Cf.* Fine Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 21, and Pipe Roll, 42 Hen. III to 8 Edw. I.

[2] From 34 Edw. I a separate account was kept of £37 4s. 8½d., the rent of certain wastes. *Cf.* Chanc. I. Misc., F. 144.

[3] *e.g.* Pipe Roll, 25 Hen. II, £36 14s. 8d., "de pannagio totius Anglie."

[4] *e.g.* 31 Hen. II, "66s. de pannagio foreste de Dene in Glouc.," under Northampton.

27 Henry II onwards has not been practicable. Both in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the entries in the Sheriff of Gloucestershire's accounts relating to pannage in Dean are most irregular. Some ten or twelve in all have been found; none between 1195 and 1209. Two or three other sums, entered as "pannage" alone, probably relate to Dean. So too, perhaps, does a "collection" for which Walter of Aure and Walter of Huntley are held responsible in the tenth year of John. Sums often make their first appearance on the rolls several years after the date to which they belong, but the date is not always specified. Nor is it always certain whether a sum given represents the total due for a particular year, or merely that fraction of it which remains unpaid. Thus in 10 John, Walter de Aure and William de Nasse are said to owe 6s. 9d. for pannage,[1] and Nicolas Avenel, 202s. 10d. on the same account; but no hint is given as to the period covered by these sums. About £90 only has been traced with comparative confidence to this source in the rolls of the period 1154–1232. Something over £70 seems to have been actually accounted for. Excluding, as it does, receipts merged in a general account, and in all probability a considerable proportion of those which should have appeared separately, the sum traced must fall far short of the whole amount due.

In the estimate of 1247(?)–1256[2] the yearly receipts from pannage were valued at £20. Between the years 1276–80[3] the profits averaged £14 7s. Before 1232, the only sums which can be said with confidence to represent the total amount due for any particular year are £21 10s. 8d. for 18 Henry II, £11 12s. for 1 Richard I, and £24 for 3, 4, 5, 6 Richard I together.[4] £3 6s. 1d. probably represents the whole sum due for 31 Henry II. But pannage does not

[1] Dean is not mentioned, but the collectors all bear forest names.

[2] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 26.

[3] Excluding 1279, the receipts for which are not given in detail.

[4] Pipe Roll, 6 Ric. I.

seem to have been taken every year; and for this reason, if for no other, it is impossible to form an estimate from the isolated sums that have been found. The average yearly value may have been anything between £1 odd and the £20 of a later estimate.[1]

A like uncertainty meets us in regard to the profits from the royal forges and the sale of timber. Though the king's forges were at work in the Forest at least as early as the beginning of Henry II's reign,[2] there is no record of the receipts from them before the reign of Henry III. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Crown wavered between anxiety to utilise this source of income and unwillingness to sacrifice the large quantities of wood which the forges consumed. Thus in 1228 the constable was ordered not to allow three forges of the king to travel any longer in the forest.[3] Nine years later he was ordered to set up eight forges.[4] These ceased to work in 1240,[5] but four others were set up in their place in 1255.[6] And then all allusion to them ceases. Either they went to eke out the warden's firm, or they ceased to work altogether. The fact that they do not appear among the issues accounted for by Ralph of Sandwich[7] points to the second alternative. Distinct from these smaller forges was the "forge belonging to the Castle," or the "great forge." This was separately accounted for in 1246–7 and 1255, and was expressly excluded from the "issues of the Forest" granted to Robert Walerand in the latter year.[8] The subsequent fate of the forge is uncertain. Its existence was noted each year at the Exchequer till 1281, but its profits were never forthcoming. If still working, it too may have passed after this date into the warden's hands.

[1] *i.e.* £90 in seventy-eight years.

[2] Cf. *Flaxley Cart.*, p. 17, "As free liberty to work as any of my forges in demesne."

[3] Close Roll, 13 Hen. III, m. 18. [4] *Ibid.*, 21, m. 18.

[5] Pipe Roll, 24 Hen. III. [6] *Ibid.*, 40 Hen. III.

[7] *Ibid.*, 4, 6, 8, 9 Edw. I. [8] Rot. Fin., 40 Hen. III, m. 21.

It is only between the years 1237 and 1247 and in 1255 that the annual receipts from the royal forges appear upon the Pipe Rolls. The total amount realised during this short period, as here given, was £389 12s. 0½d. It is impossible to tell what became of the profits at an earlier date. No mention has been found of any payments on this account before 1227. But that the forges provided the king with a certain amount of ready money is clear from an order in that year to Richard of Eston and others to let the Sheriff of Gloucester have £20 of the money from the king's forges in their custody.[1] Large as was the sum raised in those years where accounts are forthcoming, it is probable that the net value to the Crown was comparatively small. This was certainly so in the case of the great forge. The jurors, in estimating its maximum value at £50, declared that the timber used to feed it was worth considerably more than the forge brought in.[2] As a matter of fact, the forge was farmed in 1246–7 at £24, and in 1255 at £22 10s. only.[3] These are the only two occasions on which its actual proceeds are recorded. Nor does it appear to have provided the king with any additional profit in kind. The king's smith, John Malemort, had his own forge in the Forest, apart from that belonging to the Castle.[4] The smaller forges could probably be maintained more cheaply by the use of underwood. Even so, their expense was evidently a serious matter.

The net profits from the sale of wood must have been considerably larger than those of the forges, but their value is equally difficult to estimate. The accounts connected with them appear only occasionally on the Pipe Rolls. For the rest, the sums mentioned are those contained in the directions for sale, paid on account out of the proceeds, or still owed by those responsible for the transactions.[5] Thus the constable of St. Briavels was ordered in 1256 to sell,

[2] Close Roll, 11 Hen. III, m. 5.

[2] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 26. [3] *Ante*, p. 222.

[4] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25. [5] Close Roll, 21 Hen. III, m. 17.

with the advice of James Freysil and the Abbot of Flaxley, wood to the value of 1,000 marks, to be paid into the Wardrobe.[1] This was apparently the fifth sale in two years.[2] A year earlier James Freysil had been directed to send the king 300 marks out of the issues of the sale of the king's woods in the Forest of Dene.[3] In the Pipe Roll of 55 Henry III there is a list of sums owed by various persons for the sale of wood. Altogether reference has been found to something over £3,000 expected or actually received for the sale of timber. This can be but a fraction of the total amount raised. Not only are several of the sums given referred to as part only of the amount due, while other sums unspecified are said to have been paid into the Exchequer,[4] but scarcely any trace remains of the accounts relating to such profits before the middle of the thirteenth century. Nearly the whole of the sum given belongs to the years 1255–1301.

Oaks, beeches, old and windfallen trees of all kinds, and underwood seem usually to have furnished the timber for sale. The oaks mentioned on the Eyre Roll of 1282 were valued at 2s. to 5s.[5] From the Pipe Roll of 8 Edward I they seem occasionally to have brought in as much as half a mark each. The oaks taken for the king's forge were said to be worth from 9s. to 13s. 4d. each.[6] A beech in the Pipe Roll of 1279–80 is valued at 8d., and one in the regard of 1282 at 6d. only. Saplings, mentioned more than once in sales,[7] fetched about the same.[8] Some chestnuts, for the price of which Ralph of Abenhall was called upon to account in 1282, were valued at 2s. and 3s. each.[9]

[1] Close Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 9*d.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 39 Hen. III, m. 9 and 3; Fine Roll, 39 Hen. III; Pat. Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 7*d.*

[3] Close Roll, 39 Hen. III, m. 10.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 28*d.* and *cf.* Pipe Roll, 9 Edw. I.

[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 17.

[6] For. Proc. K. R., bdl 1, No. 26.

[7] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 332. [8] Pipe Roll, 8 Edw. I.

[9] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 17.

How large a proportion of the total amount realised by such sales reached the king's hands it is impossible to say. On several occasions large sums are entered on the Pipe Rolls of which no account seems ever to have been presented.[1] One debtor at least was excused payment.[2] Nor were the proceedings of the wood-sellers always above suspicion. News of their doings reached the king in 1260, and led to a personal inquiry by the justice of the forest south of Trent into the frauds which were said to have taken place.[3] The accounts relating to some £1,800 only have been found on the Pipe Rolls. About two-fifths of this sum seems to have been actually paid into the Exchequer.[4] From the remaining three-fifths the small sum of £8 14s. 10d. was deducted for working expenses.[5] The rest was expended in the king's service, partly in Dean, chiefly elsewhere.

Together, the rents of assarts, the sale of pannage and timber, and the profits of the forges, provided the king with an additional sum of at least £2,400, or its equivalent, during the period. How much more it is impossible to tell. The total receipts may well have been double or treble this amount.

Beyond this much of the produce of the Forest was never converted into coin of the realm. Of profits in kind, the most important were venison and wood. Notice has been found of fifty-four occasions on which venison was dispatched from the Forest for the use of the Court.[6] In twenty-two cases the number of beasts sent is specified. The total is 1,185. 58 are described as harts or hinds, 615 as

[1] *e.g.* Pipe Roll, 55 Hen. III, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 2, but *cf.* Close Roll, 12 Edw. I, m. 2.

[2] Pat. Rot., 3 Edw. I, m. 3. [3] Fine Roll, 44 Hen. III, m. 3.

[4] £224 5s. 4d. was apparently paid into Prince Edward's wardrobe between 1266 and 1270. *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d*, and Pipe Roll, 17 Edw. I, Glouc.

[5] Pipe Rolls, 4 and 33 Edw. I.

[6] In addition to "venison sent to the king and queen in diverse places."—*Ibid.*, 38 Hen. III.

bucks or does, 512 as boars, wood boars (*aper silvestris*), wood pigs, pigs and sows. This gives an average of 2 to 3 red deer, 28 fallow deer, and 23 boars and sows for each of the twenty-two consignments. Of the remaining thirty-two consignments, one is said to consist of the venison, of boars and sows,[1] and another of pigs and sows.[2] The rest are entered simply as venison. Supposing that in two cases the numbers were approximately those of an average consignment of boars and sows (viz. 23), and in thirty cases those of other venison (viz. 30 to 31), the total number of animals furnished by the Forest during the period would have been well over 2,000.

The venison was usually taken by the royal hunters sent to the Forest from time to time. It was the constable's duty to assist them, to take charge of the venison, and dispatch it to the king when wanted. The expenses connected with its capture, salting and carriage were paid, for the most part, by the constable, and deducted from the firm or from the revenue which passed through his hands. Occasionally part of the expense was borne by the sheriff. Altogether such expenditure amounted, as far as it has been traced, to something over £100. The greater part of this relates to salting and carriage. The average cost of salting a fallow deer and sending it to Westminster in Henry III's reign was from 4½d. to 6d.[3] In 1289, however, as much as 30s. was spent on the curing and carriage of twenty bucks.[4] The carriage of boars should have been more expensive, but the scale seems to have been erratic. In 20 Henry III 10s. is charged for the carriage of ten sows (*laiis*) and three boars to Winchester. Three years later the same number of animals were sent to Winchester for 4s. In 10 Henry III the journey had cost 10s. for as many boars. In 1252 the constable claimed an allowance of 4s. 9d. for salting twelve boars and wild sows, for putting their heads in sugar (?),[5] and for

[1] Pipe Roll, 22 and 23 Hen. III. [2] *Ibid.*, 34.
[3] *Cf. ibid.*, 33, 35, 36 Hen. III. [4] *Ibid.*, 17 Edw. I.
[5] The word appears to be *sucata*.

carriage to the king at Gloucester.[1] The same process applied to 200 boars and sows, together with the wages of the hunters and carriage to Nottingham, the same year cost 64s. 6d.[2] The wages of the royal hunters appear only occasionally on the constable's accounts. Thus, Hiche, the king's hunter, received in 1220 12d. a day for himself, two horses, and two boys;[3] 9½d. a day was allowed for eighteen dogs and lime-hounds on the same occasion. After 1229 such entries are rare. It is not clear who paid the hunter's wages in later times. Only three entries relating to venison from Dean Forest have been found on the Pipe Rolls of Edward I;[4] but it is clear from the Eyre Rolls that these do not represent the only occasions on which it was taken.[5] It is possible, therefore, that the venison provided in the latter part of the thirteenth century was usually accounted for in some other way.

The timber of the Forest seems to have been in much less request than its venison. A certain amount was needed to keep St. Briavels Castle in repair;[6] some for the king's weirs in the Severn.[7] Beyond this some twenty orders on the king's behalf have been found in the Close Rolls of the period. Of fourteen entries relating to the carriage of wood from the Forest on the Pipe Rolls of 1240–54, one or two only correspond with these. It would seem, therefore, that a considerable number of orders for timber escaped enrolment. As far as the evidence goes, its use by the Crown outside the Forest was restricted almost entirely to the repair of Gloucester Bridge and of the castles of Gloucester and Bristol. Here it was frequently in demand.[8] Of its use elsewhere four cases only have been noticed. In 1223

[1] Pipe Roll, 36 Hen. III, comp. of P. Chaceporc. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 6 Hen. III. [4] 4, 17, 28 Edw. I.
[5] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 18. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 6*d.*
[7] *Cf.* Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 19*d.*
[8] e.g. *ibid.*, 6 Hen. III, m. 13; 27, m. 6; 40, m. 32; 6 Edw. I, m. 4; 12, m. 6, etc., etc.

John of Monmouth was ordered to supply enough timber for forty rafters for the Tower of London.[1] In 1241–2 the justice of the forest was directed to send timber from Dean Forest or elsewhere to Bristol for the repair of the galleys ordered to be made there by the king.[2] In 1255 directions were sent for the dispatch of thirty or forty oaks to Bristol to repair the galleys of Edward, the king's son.[3] In the following year Edward was granted "beech trees in the Forest of Dene to make oars for his galleys at Bristol."[4]

Perhaps the costliness of felling and carriage prevented a more extensive use of the timber. The entries on the Pipe Rolls show that the average amount spent on conveying an oak to Gloucester was from 5s. 4d. to 9s. 6d., and to Bristol from 11s. 4d. to 13s. 2d.[5] If timber cost from twice to four times its selling value to carry such a short distance as this, the king may well have hesitated to use it farther afield. Between 1240 and 1254 nearly £170 was expended in the execution of fourteen orders for timber and shingles for the castles of Gloucester and Bristol. The cutting and carriage of 135 oaks in 1251–2 cost £59 15s. 11d.[6] The manufacture and carriage of 60,000 shingles for the works at Gloucester in the same year cost £23 17s. 7d. It is only between 1240 and 1254 that the expenses connected with the carriage of timber appear on the constable's accounts. The sum to which they amount can be only a fraction of the total cost during the period.

There was another and less expensive method of utilising the wood. This was in the manufacture of arrows, carried on extensively in Dean Forest, at least from the beginning of Henry III's reign.[7] The arrows when made were stored at St. Briavels,[8] ready for dispatch to different parts of the country in accordance with the king's directions.

[1] Close Roll, 7 Hen. III, m. 16. [2] *Ibid.*, 26, m. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, 39, part i. m. 4. [4] *Ibid.*, 40, m. 20.
[5] *Cf.* Pipe Rolls, 29, 33, 36 Hen. III.
[6] Pipe Roll, 36 Hen. III, rot. comp.
[7] *Ibid.*, 6 Hen. III. [8] *Cf.* Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 32.

Reference has been found to twenty-one occasions on which they were furnished for the royal use. They were ordered on at least seventeen other occasions, but there is nothing to show whether the orders were executed. The average number dispatched in the twenty cases where figures are given was about 23,000. 2,000 were sent to Bedford for use in the siege of 1224;[1] 30,000 were ordered for Scotland in 1244,[2] when war was on the point of breaking out. Supplies were twice ordered for Gascony, in 1253 and 1255,[3] and nine or ten times for the munition of the royal castles in Wales and the Marches.

The average cost of transport to the destinations named was 10½d. a thousand. The carriage of 50,000 to Woodstock and 50,000 to London in 1245 cost £3 1s. 1d.,[4] that of 30,000 to Chester in 1257 £1 10s.[5] Arrows destined for more distant parts were usually conveyed by the constable as far as Bristol only. Much larger sums were spent on manufacture and storing. Between 1222 and 1254 it seems to have been the practice for the constable to pay the wages of the workmen and provide them with the necessary materials. William Malemort, the smith, with his two boys, received 6d. a day in 1222, and William the fletcher 3d. Iron and charcoal this year cost 30s.[6] In the following year 2s. was spent on feathers for 1,150 quarrels. The arrows were apparently all intended for crossbows. Between 1240 and 1246 John Malemort was paid at the rate of a mark a thousand.[7] He had his own forge,[8] and no further payments are recorded for materials. In 1266 the bailiffs of Gloucester were ordered to pay him his wages out of the firm of their town.[9] This had occasionally been done at an earlier

[1] Pipe Roll, 9 Hen. III. [2] *Liberate Roll*, 28 Hen. III, m. 7.
[3] Close Roll, 37 Hen. III, m. 7, and 39, part i. m. 4.
[4] Pipe Roll, 45 Hen. III.
[5] *Ibid.*, 41 Hen. III. [6] *Ibid.*, 6 Hen. III.
[7] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 40 and 42 Hen. III.
[8] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[9] Close Roll, 50 Hen. III, Oct. 30th.

period.[1] Charges for the manufacture of arrows appear occasionally under Edward I, but it is not clear what the financial arrangements were. A grant of two beech trees to John Malemort for shafts for quarrels and two oaks for chests to put them in,[2] for the king's use, shows that the same family was still concerned in the work in 1277. In the same year Ralph of Sandwich was ordered to cause 200,000 quarrels to be made and kept for the king. About £560 in all appears as expenditure in connection with the making and carriage of arrows, excluding wages paid by the citizens of Gloucester. How large a proportion of the total expenditure this represents it is impossible to say. Nor is it possible to estimate the total quantity supplied during the period. Between 1240 and 1246 at least 50,000 arrows a year were regularly manufactured for the king's use.[1] It is probable that throughout the greater part of the thirteenth century he could be supplied with arrows in large quantities at an average cost of something like 14s. 3d. a thousand, including carriage to any part of Southern England or Wales.

Save in connection with the manufacture of quarrels, there is little reference in the constables' accounts to the iron produced by the Forest;[3] but much, no doubt, reached the king indirectly. The 36 dacres of iron and 100 bars of iron suitable for making nails for the royal navy, furnished annually by Gloucester in the time of the Confessor,[4] came almost certainly from the Forest. Giraldus, in his *Itinerary*, speaks of the "noble Forest of Dene . . . which amply supplies Gloucester with iron and venison."[5] In the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and Richard I there are several references to iron procured by the sheriff for the royal use. Thus in 1188 £8 16s. 3d. was paid for iron for the use of the king in his journey to Jerusalem.[6] In 1191 £33 18s. was charged for 50,000 horse-shoes and £100 for iron for the king's ships.[7]

[1] Pipe Roll, 30 and 43 Hen. III. [2] Close Roll, 6 Edw. I, m. 14.
[3] An allusion to it is made in Pipe Roll, 11 Hen. III.
[4] D. B., i. 162*a*. [5] Trans. Hoare, i. 102. [6] 34 Hen. III. [7] 2 Ric. I.

Similar references appear under Henry III.[1] It is not clear whether the iron in question was supplied by the king's own forges or by those in private hands. Much perhaps had to be paid for, and so was less directly profitable to the Crown than venison or timber, which could be had for the price of the wages and carriage involved.

Supplies of arrows and iron for the king's wars were frequently supplemented by the personal service of the workmen. In the thirteenth century, at least, requisitions of miners and wood-cutters from the Forest to serve in all parts of the country were comparatively common. The expenses of forty miners sent to London by the king's orders[2] appear on the constable's account in 1222. Possibly they had been employed in the siege of Blytham the year before. Miners from the Forest certainly took part in the siege of Bedford in 1224. Their wages are entered in the constable's accounts for 8 and 9 Henry III as "expenses of 30 miners sent from Hereford to Bedford for 9 days at 2 pence a day each, 20 shillings . . . and to John the miner with 10 other miners, at 3d. a day each, for 4 days going to London, 11 shillings."[3] In the next account 12 pence is entered as rent paid by Maciane, widow of John the miner, killed in the king's service at Bedford.[4]

Sometimes the miners were ordered still farther afield. Twenty of the best to be found were summoned to accompany the king on his expedition to Gascony, to take up the task of Simon de Montfort in 1253.[5] But such services appear most frequently, as might be expected, in connection with the wars in Wales. The sum of £3 11s. 2d. was entered in the constable's accounts of 7 Henry III as expenses of 20 miners dispatched to Montgomery,[6] "for the work of the castle being built there."[7] A hundred wood-cutters were

[1] Cf. *Q. V. Hist. of Glos.*, vol. ii. p. 216.
[2] Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. III. [3] *Ibid.*, 9 Hen. III.
[4] *Ibid.*, 10 Hen. III. [5] Close Roll, 37 Hen. III, m. 7.
[6] Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. III. [7] Close Roll, 7 Hen. III, m. 1.

summoned for service in Edward's second Welsh campaign in 1282.[1] Their expenses at 3 pence a day each and that of their conductor at 12 pence were credited to the executors of the constable, Grimbald Pauncefote, in 1315, together with a further sum of £10 8s. paid in the same year to a hundred wood-cutters and charcoal burners sent to Brecknock "to do there what Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and Richard Talbot shall order."[2] In the following year a hundred wood-fellers were sent to Chester; the journey took six days, and cost the king £9 6s.[3]

No allusion to the use of archers from the Forest has been found earlier than 1323;[4] but footmen were requisitioned for the Welsh wars of 1282 and 1287,[5] and for a projected campaign against the Scots in 1301.[6] The men of Dean seem not to have displayed any very great alacrity on this last occasion, to judge from the appointment of a commission shortly after to inquire "whether bribes had been taken from the 700 men chosen to serve in Gloucestershire and the Forest of Dean so that they might be allowed to stay at home."[7] Later in the year a fresh order was issued for 500 foot from the county and Forest to be taken to Linlithgow,[8] but it was countermanded, as the men were not needed at present.[9]

A fourth class of profits still remains to be considered—those derived from the fines inflicted for forest offences. These are, for many reasons, extraordinarily difficult to trace. In the first place, the entries relating to forest pleas in the Pipe Rolls do not distinguish between Dean and the other forests of the county. In some cases where names are given it is possible to say that a certain fine does or does not relate to this particular forest, but in many cases the

[1] Rot. Wal., 10 Edw. I, m. 5. [2] Close Roll, 8 Edw. II, m. 19.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, 15 Edw. II, m. 13.
[5] *Rymer Foed*, p. 676. [6] Pat. Roll, 29 Edw. I. m. 14.
[7] Pat. Roll, 29 Edw. I, m. 10. [8] *Ibid.*, 30 Edw. I, m. 36.
[9] Close Roll, 30 Edw. I, m. 18*d*.

names tell nothing. Moreover, many fines are grouped together in lump sums under some such heading as "amercements of the men and vills whose names are placed before the letter T in the roll of the eyre which the aforesaid (justices) delivered at the Exchequer." It is not easy to see how large a proportion of such fines can be reasonably set down as coming from Dean. There were several other smaller forests in the county.[1] Of these Corse, which was in royal hands in the twelfth century, had passed in the thirteenth century into those of the De Clares. Its value in 1265 was £46 a year,[2] or about a third of that of Dean at this date. Certain woods north of Bristol, including Furches or Kingswood, Harewood, Huntingford and Alveston, seem to have been afforested in great part after 1154. The jurors of 1228 declared that Alveston Park alone of the woods between Gloucester and Bristol was forest before the accession of Henry II.[3] Part of the district in question, consisting of the woods and vills between Furches and Huntingford, was accordingly disafforested in that year.[4] Alveston was given in 1230 to Fulk FitzWaryn.[5] A third and still smaller forest, usually known as Minety, lay in the neighbourhood of Cirencester. In 1130 it brought in 40s.[6] It is improbable that all these forests together were equal in area to that of Dean before 1228. With the disafforestation of much of the southern district, preceded perhaps by the loss of Corse, the profits derived from them must have ceased to be considerable. One half of fines unspecified in the earlier period and one-sixth in the later would perhaps be a generous allowance.

The difficulties do not end here. It is impossible to trace the sums raised from the forests of Gloucestershire with accuracy. Fines apparently unconnected with the forest may appear on the Pipe Rolls under "Forest

[1] *Cf.* Fosbroke, *Hist. of Glos.*, and *Q. V. Hist. of Glos.*, vol. ii. p. 263.
[2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 32. [3] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d.*
[4] *Ibid.*, m. 6. [5] *Q. V. Hist. of Glos.*, vol. ii. p. 264. [6] *Ibid.*

Pleas." The total amount imposed in any one forest eyre is never given. Under the heading, "Pleas of the Forest by Brian de Insula," the agisters' debt only is given.[1] Particular fines are often mentioned for the first time long after the date at which they were incurred;[2] at other times the absence of any date makes it impossible to tell whether the fine is new or not. The difficulty of determining under these circumstances whether the sum given is the total amount due on that occasion, a fraction of it, or a debt still unpaid, is occasionally insuperable. The task is scarcely easier when the rolls of the eyre remain to give independent evidence. Here the amount of the fine is not always entered, if the appearance of new sums under the same names in the Pipe Rolls may be taken as a test. Even the names given in the latter cannot always be found in the Eyre Rolls.[3] On the other hand, part only of the total amount entered in the Eyre Rolls is to be found charged in the accounts.[4] Of the fines imposed in the eyre of 1282 no trace has been found on the Pipe Rolls of the period. Beyond this there are many cases where no record of any kind has been found of fines which were certainly imposed. Thus, in seven entries on the Eyre Roll of 1270 and six in that of 1282 relating to woods taken into the king's hands on account of waste,[5] there is no statement as to the fine imposed by way of ransom, nor has such been discovered on the Pipe Rolls.

It has not, therefore, been found possible to do more than attempt to disentangle the various sums entered by the Exchequer officials as fines in connection with the forests of Gloucestershire; making a rough reduction for the smaller

[1] Pipe Roll, 5 Hen. III, Glouc.

[2] *e.g.* 4s. from Walter of Wysham, "pro regardo malefacto," appears first in 13 Edw. I; the offence is recorded in the eyre of 1258.—For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 6*d*.

[3] *Ibid.*, and Pipe Roll, 42 Hen. III.

[4] *Ibid.*; For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, and Pipe Roll, 55 Hen. III.

[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 8*d*; No. 30, m. 18.

forests in the county, and adding, where these are not entered, the amounts which extant Eyre Rolls show to have been due. It is probable, in view of the limitations discussed, that the figures reached will fall considerably short of the total actually imposed.

The fines imposed for transgressions in the forests of Gloucestershire during the period amount, as far as they have been traced, to between £6,500 and £7,000. Of this sum about £2,300 appears only in the rolls of the eyres held in the Forest of Dean in 1270 and 1282. Of the remainder, between £500 and £1,000 might be allotted to the smaller forests of Gloucestershire on the principle suggested. About four-fifths of the total amount traced belongs to a period subsequent to their partial disafforestation.

The sum imposed in any one eyre varies greatly from time to time. It naturally tends to increase with the length of the interval since the last eyre; but this is no invariable rule. The fines imposed in the eyre of 1258, after an interval of eleven years, amounted, as far as they have been traced, to something under £100. Those imposed in 1246–7, after an interval which was certainly not longer, and may have been much less, reached it appears over fourteen times that sum. The largest amount levied by way of fine in any one eyre during the twelfth century seems to be the £390 odd entered on the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II;[1] during the thirteenth century, £2,676 4s. 4d., the estimated total of the sums given in the Eyre Roll of 1270.[2] In the former case the size of the sum imposed is probably to be explained by the unusual number of trespasses committed during the recent war.[3] A similar reason may explain the enormous fine imposed on the partisans of Simon de Montfort, who held the wardenship of the Forest during the Barons' Wars.[4] The fines

[1] One or two further sums appear on the Pipe Roll of 23 Hen. II.

[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29.

[3] *Cf.* Introduction to vol. xxv., Pipe Roll Ser.

[4] Pipe Roll, 55 Hen. III, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d.*

recorded in the solitary Eyre Roll of Edward I's reign amount to a little over £900.

How large a proportion of the fines imposed actually found their way into the Exchequer it is impossible to say, in view of the frequent silences of the rolls, and the long delays in those payments that appear. Of the total sum entered in the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II, about two-thirds was got in during the next four years. But it is unlikely that the proportion was usually as high as this. Of the numerous sums of which no record of payment has been found, it is probable that many were expressly pardoned. There is evidence that this was so with regard to some at least of the heavier fines imposed. Thus John Giffard was forgiven the enormous sum of £1,218 required of him in the eyre of 1270.[1] Robert Walerand was pardoned £100 out of the £300 charged to his account in the same eyre.[2] At an earlier date respite of payment "till the king be of age" was granted to the monks of Tintern, in connection with a debt of £100 and two palfreys, the remainder of a fine incurred under John.[3] No more is heard of it in the accounts. In other cases the fines were collected so slowly that their value was scarcely appreciable. Thus quite half the fines separately entered on the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry III continue to appear spasmodically during the rest of the period, with small reductions on account of payments made from time to time. Forty-five years later the heir of Richard of Stanton still owed £130 of the £150 due; the heir of William of Dene, £46 4s. out of a debt of £80; Roger Wyther, £16 1s. 4d. out of £21 8s., and so forth.[4] Such entries, if they bear witness to a certain pertinacity on the part of the Crown, show also how difficult was the task of making good its claims. The king might well consider himself fortunate if he got in a third of the sums imposed. It is unlikely that out of the

[1] Close Roll, 3 Edw. I, m. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, 4 Edw. I, m. 18.
[3] Pipe Roll, 3 Hen. III. Glouc. [4] *Ibid.*, 20 Edw. I.

total sum traced during the period much more than £2,000 left the pockets of the men of Dean.

Some additional revenue might be derived from fines of various descriptions, other than those exacted in the eyre. Such would be payments for exemptions of different kinds;[1] for the grant, or for the confirmation of forest rights; for escape from the consequences of forest transgressions. The Abbot of Flaxley made fine to the king with 7 marks of gold and 10 of silver for a charter concerning a wood in the Forest of Dean, granted to him in lieu of two oaks a week.[2] Hugh of Kynardesley paid 20 marks for the renewal of the charter concerning a certain assart granted to him in the Forest.[3] In the eyres of 1258 and 1282 letters were produced proving that certain offenders had already secured pardon by making fine with the king.[4] The income derived from such sources was perhaps not inconsiderable, but the notices relating to it are too irregular to allow of an estimate.

To conclude—the profits derived from the Forest, including rents, sales and fines, should have amounted during the period to at least £20,000 odd, a sum almost equal, perhaps, to the annual revenue of Henry II,[5] and more than half that of Henry III.[6] To this must be added profits in kind and fines of a miscellaneous description, whose value has not been computed. The estimate given takes into account, with one exception,[7] only those sums to which actual reference has been found. That these cannot represent the total revenue from the Forest, exclusive of certain rents and feudal dues,[8] is clear from what has been said. In all probability their amount falls considerably below that which

[1] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 28*d*.

[2] Fine Roll, 43 Hen. III, m. 5. [3] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 13.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 4.; No. 30, m. 6*d*.

[5] As calculated by Sir J. Ramsay, *Angevin Empire*, p. 195.

[6] In 1245 the king's revenue was estimated at less than that of the foreign clergy, viz. 60,000 marks a year.—Mat. Paris, vol. iv. p. 442.

[7] An estimate of the firm for the years 1263–71, *ante*, pp. 230, 231.

[8] *Cf.* pp. 221, 223.

further evidence, if it could be had, would show to have been due.

Of the sum named above, it is quite possible that something under three-fifths was actually accounted for at the Exchequer. How nearly some £12,000 approaches the total yield of Dean Forest for the years 1155–1307 it is impossible to say. The sum, representing as it does little more than an average income of £75, appears disappointing. Still, if each of the sixty-nine forests of the Elizabethan estimate[1] had furnished no more, the total would have formed perhaps something like a sixth of the whole revenue of the Crown.

IV.

POSITION OF THE SUBJECT.

The administration of the Forest is regarded in the records which survive almost exclusively from the standpoint of royal finance. The letters patent and close deal in the main with the execution of the king's business. The Pipe Rolls, our sole source of evidence for the twelfth century, record only those matters which affect his expenditure and receipts. Even the records of the eyre are "memoranda of sums of money owing to the king rather than registers of process and judgment."[2] An occasional inquisition includes, indeed, a special clause dealing with the treatment of the forest inhabitants.[3] But as a rule incidental references alone enable us to gauge the extent of the hardship which the exercise of royal rights entailed upon the subject. Into the character of the restrictions imposed by forest law it would be unnecessary to enter in view of Mr. G. J. Turner's Introduction to the *Select Pleas of the Forest.*[4] All that will be here attempted is to give some illustration of the practical working of these restraints in Dean Forest from such evidence

[1] Cf. *Royal Forests of England,* J. C. Cox, p. 2.
[2] *Select Pleas of the Forest,* Introduction, p. lx.
[3] *Cf.* For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[4] Selden Society, vol. xiii.

as remains, to call attention to compensating advantages, and to form some estimate of the friction involved between the subject and the Crown.

Evidence for the practical working of the forest law is naturally to be sought mainly in the rolls of the eyre. Unfortunately, the earliest extant roll relating to Dean Forest is that of 1258. Up to this date we have to depend on the Pipe Rolls and on the rolls of fines and letters close. The last two of these sources furnish no more than occasional hints. The information conveyed by the Pipe Rolls is inadequate, even as a test of the severity of the punishments inflicted. The smaller fines are seldom separately entered. In the case of the larger fines, the offence is usually unspecified.[1] It would be dangerous to generalise over much from the comparatively few instances where further details are given. This part of the discussion, therefore, will deal mainly with the period covered by the extant Eyre Rolls, confining itself at an earlier date to such illustration as the evidence affords. It is possible to group the manifold regulations enforced on the subject roughly under three heads—those relating to personal service, to property in the Forest, and to offences in connection with the venison.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century the burden of attendance at the forest courts enforced upon the inhabitants was probably not overwhelming. After 1247 only three eyres were held. Nor are the fines for non-attendance, if severe, unduly oppressive. There are thirty-nine cases of default in the eyre of 1258, twenty-four in 1270, and seventy-two in 1282. The fines imposed amount to £13 15s. 4d., or just over 2s. a head.[2] More irksome must have been the duty of making inquisition whenever an injury to the venison had been done. This would fall most

[1] "De misericordia pro foresta" or "pro transgressione" is the usual description.

[2] There is no fine specified in a few cases. If it was later imposed, this would of course raise the average.

heavily on the townships which lay near the covert. Some thirty-five vills are mentioned in this connection between the years 1247 and 1282. It is not possible to tell from the rolls exactly how often their attendance had been required during this period. Forty-three entries relating to venison offences have been counted in the Eyre Roll of 1258, fifty-nine in that of 1270, and a hundred and twenty-two in that of 1282—224 in all. These, of course, do not correspond exactly with the number of inquisitions held. In some cases it is obvious that no inquisition had been needed;[1] in others there had perhaps been more than one. There may even have been inquisitions into trespasses not described in the Eyre Roll.[2] It is probable that the number of inquisitions held exceeds on the whole the number of entries in the Eyre Rolls; but unless the discrepancy be considerable, it would seem that the cases which each of thirty-five townships acting in a group of four was called upon to decide would average during the period 1247–82 little more than five or six in every seven years. Fines for not coming fully, *i.e.* for not finding out all that the justices wished to know, ranged from half a mark to two marks. The fines imposed on twenty-three townships in 1258 seem to have amounted to £13 7s. 4d., or 11s. 7½d. each; on twenty-two townships in 1270 to £15 6s. 8d., or 13s. 11d. each; on twenty-one townships in 1282 to £8 10s., or 8s. 1d. each. The sums, covering as they do a period of twelve years in each case, do not seem excessive.[3] The burden of attendance at the forest courts must have been heavier in the earlier period when eyres were more frequent; sometimes they were levied at a higher rate. As much as twenty marks was exacted for default in 31 Henry II. Even as late as 1231 the vill of Lydney paid

[1] *e.g.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 12*d*; cf. *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. xl.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. lxxii.

[3] There is unfortunately no means of estimating the number of persons among whom the fine would be distributed.

six marks for non-attendance; but perhaps this was exceptional. The vill of Lydney and Purton paid two marks for default in 1209.[1] In 1163 fines ranging from half a mark to 20s. were required of several forest townships, probably on the same account, but no cause is specified.[2] Beyond the duty of attendance at the forest courts lay the liability of all inhabitants for service as verderers or regarders. The unpopularity of such offices is illustrated by the charters of exemption produced in the eyre of 1282.[3] Charters of this kind were certainly not to be had for nothing.

Royal interference with private property within the Forest would seem to have been both more arbitrary and more irksome. It was not until 1217 that bounds were set to it; and there is evidence in the later records of Dean to show that these might be overpassed. By the charter of the Forest,[4] the owners of land in the Forest, although still restrained from cutting down timber and clearing without royal licence, were permitted to agist their woods at will, and to erect mills and make mill-ponds if it could be done without injury to others. Yet we find the jurors, after inquisition concerning Bogo de Knovile's wood at Killecote in 1281, stating that "if pannage should happen in the Forest, and the said Bogo should agist the pigs in his said wood before the king should agist the pigs in his demesne, then the king should have the attachments of the pigs who were found in the wood of the said Bogo, and should thereof do his will."[5] A case concerning the Abbot of Tintern in the Eyre Rolls of 1270 and 1282 shows that the uses to which forest land might be put were equally narrowed down in practice. In the eyre of 1270 it was presented that the abbot had erected a mill and made a pond on the bounds of the Forest between the fee of the Earl Marshal and the fee of Hewelsfield. It was to the injury of the Forest, for

[1] Pipe Roll, 10 John. [2] *Ibid.*, 13 Hen. II.
[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 28*d*.
[4] *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, p. 348. [5] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 120.

the mill harboured evildoers to the venison and prevented the deer chased by the earl from coming into the Forest and replenishing it.[1] Nothing seems to have been done in this eyre. Twelve years later the abbot was ordered to pull down his mill, but granted a respite so that he might appear *coram rege.*[2] The final verdict does not appear. If such arguments held good, many owners of mills and ponds must have suffered.

The recognised restrictions on landholders, if irksome, were usually enforced from 1217 onwards in a not unreasonable spirit, though exceptions must be noticed. Leave to fell timber was frequently granted to the owners of woods.[3] It may be that the licence had to be paid for, but the letters close recording it make no mention of the fact. The scantiness of the information given in the Eyre Rolls makes it difficult to test the severity of the punishment meted out to the owner who cut timber other than that needed for fuel and repairs without leave. The Eyre Roll usually states that the wood where waste has been committed is taken into the king's hands, but does not as a rule specify the sum demanded for its ransom. Only two cases have been found in which the amount of the fine is recorded: William de Coleville and William de Eston each paid 10s. to receive back his wood in 1258.[4] In neither case is the extent of the damage done recorded.

An entry on the Pipe Roll of 16 Henry III gives one mark as the fine paid by one of the De Colevilles to recover his wood. The vill of Ailburton paid two marks for "new waste" in 1200. There are some thirty cases of fresh waste in the extrant Eyre Rolls. Two or three were reserved for the king's hearing. In three cases charters of acquittance were

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 7*d*. There appears to have been a wall as well, *ibid.*, No. 30, m. 7*d*.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 16*d*.

[3] *e.g.* Close Roll, 21 Hen. III, m. 12; 31, m. 1; 12 Edw. I, m. 9.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 8.

produced;[1] but for the most part no hint is given of the final result.

When the wood had been restored to the owner, he still had to pay a fine at each eyre until the damage done had been repaired by time. There are some five-and-twenty entries relating to "old waste" in the Eyre Rolls. The usual fine is half a mark. The Abbot of Gloucester paid 40s. in 1282 in order that his woods of Bridewood and Hopemansel, which had recovered from their injuries, might not again be presented.[2] The Prior of Lantony paid two marks in the same eyre as a final ransom for his woods of Ailburton and Alvington.[3]

Even if the owner of a wood abstained from cutting down trees and underwood, or otherwise disturbing the deer, his enjoyment of his property was precarious. There are two cases of confiscation in the eyre of 1258, where the owner had failed to present his woodward in person to the justices in eyre.[4] In neither case is the amount of the ransom recorded. The Abbot of Tintern's wood of Hart Hill was taken into the king's hands on account of the misdoing of his woodward, John of Aure,[5] in 1270. It seems to have been still unransomed in 1282.[6] In that year the abbot was ordered to redeem the wood in question by payment of half a mark.[7] There is no evidence to show whether the delay in the transaction was due to the reluctance of the abbot to produce this sum, or to the neglect of the justices in imposing it. If the latter were the case, the loss of the wood for some twelve years must have been very irritating to its owner.

Penalties for assart and purpresture, *i.e.* the clearing of land in the Forest for cultivation, enclosing, building, and the like without royal licence, seem to have been imposed in accordance with the wealth of the offender rather than the

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, m. 18*d*.
[3] *Ibid.*, m. 18. [4] *Ibid.*, No. 28, m. 2*d*.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 5. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 31. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 4.

extent of the offence. Curiously enough, they are frequently heavier in cases where the land concerned is the property of the culprit than in those where it has been filched from the royal demesne. In the eyre of 1282 the Abbot of Tintern was ordered to pay £112 10s. in connection with 200 acres assarted at Woolaston in the fee of the Earl Marshal, apparently in addition to a ransom unspecified.[1] The demand was the more preposterous in view of a doubt whether the district in question lay actually within the Forest.[2] Such extortion is, however, exceptional. In the same eyre Simon of Ribbeford, Rector of Huntley, paid only half a mark in connection with two acres and a half on which he had built a house in Walter of Huntley's wood,[3] doubtless with Walter's leave, but without that of the king. Something like £230 in all was imposed in this year as fines for new assarts and purprestures in land held of others than the king. In addition, the holder of every assart had to pay at the rate of sixpence or a shilling an acre for every crop sown since the last eyre. The fines paid for "old assarts" in the three eyres of 1258, 1270 and 1282 amount in all to something under £120.

No example of a sum as large as that demanded of the Abbot of Tintern has been found in connection with encroachments on royal demesne. The fines imposed range from something under a penny to half a mark an acre.[4] In some cases a yearly rent was fixed at the same time by the justices. Thus in 1282 Henry of Dene, after paying £7 for thirty-seven acres of assart in demesne, besides the rent received for the house which he had built there, was allowed to retain his ill-gotten property for a rent of £1 6s. 6d. a year,[5] or about

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 16*d*.

[2] *Ibid.*, m. 8; cf. *Hund. Rot.*, vol. i. p. 181.

[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 16.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, No. 28, m. 7 and No. 30, m. 15*d*; Pipe Roll, 13 Hen. III. Only one case of a higher rate has been found, viz. 1s. for one perch.

[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 14.

8½d. an acre. This seems to be a reasonable rate. We are told of land in Newland worth 8d. an acre,[1] and Henry of Dene's land was probably more valuable. It is not clear whether those holders of assarts who paid rent had also to account for the crops.

The regulations with regard to the lawing of dogs in the Forest were not enforced with any great severity, at least from the middle of the thirteenth century. The regarders in 1282 reported that all the dogs within the bounds of the Forest were said to have been lawed; but added that it was not known whether this had been properly done or not, inasmuch as an examination of the dogs had not taken place for a long time past.[2] There are no entries relating to "dogs kept contrary to the assize" in the Eyre Rolls after 1258. In that year fifteen offenders are named;[3] most of them were lords of forest vills, who claimed that their dogs should go unlawed.[4] Only two fines of half a mark each are recorded. In 1253, however, Walter de Musegros had been called upon to pay £5 for keeping dogs without warrant.[5] There is no evidence as to practice at an earlier date. The absence of any mention of fines for keeping bows and arrows within the Forest suggests that this rule, too, had been suffered to lapse before the middle of the thirteenth century. Among provisions for the comfort of the deer may be noticed a fine imposed in the eyre of 1282 on four persons who had been keeping goats in the Forest,[6] and a demand for £10 8s. from the Abbot of Flaxley for allowing his cattle to escape within its bounds.[7]

Fines for injuries to the wood, under the head of vert, whether within or without the royal demesne, if numerous, were relatively small. One instance only of a fine as large as ten marks has been found.[8] From the few entries noticed

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 16. [2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 28, m. 8*d*. [4] *Ibid.*, No. 31.
[5] Pipe Roll, 37 Hen. III. [6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 1*d*.
[7] Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 5; the fine was not exacted.
[8] Pipe Roll, 10 John.

it would appear that one shilling was the usual sum exacted in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[1] In the Eyre Rolls the fines range from sixpence to a mark, but rarely exceed 6s. 8d. The average in some 650 cases recorded between 1247 and 1282 comes out at something under 2s. a head. In many cases the punishments inflicted seem extraordinarily slight. Two offenders, who apparently made their living by carrying off timber and brushwood from the Forest to sell in Bristol, were fined half a mark and a shilling respectively in the eyre of 1282.[2] Other habitual evildoers were fined from 1s. 8d. to 5s. each.[3] Fines for carrying off an oak on royal demesne ranged from 3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. each,[4] little more than the average selling value. The owners of boats used for carrying wood away from the Forest were fined rather more severely. The sums given range from 7s. 8d. to £1 8s. 8d.[5] The damage done by charcoal burners and holders of forges generally appears under the head of "waste." There is one case under "vert" in the Eyre Roll of 1282, in which a certain Richard de la Mershe, attached for making charcoal in the king's wood at Eywood for two days without warrant, was fined 2s., in addition to 2s. 4d. the price of the charcoal.[6] In other cases where the misdeeds of charcoal burners are recorded the fines are not given. Numerous holders of itinerant forges doing great injuries to the wood and undergrowth were fined in the eyres of 1270 and 1282[7] sums ranging from two shillings to two marks. Ralph Page of Littledean, who had held a forge for three years since the last eyre to the injury of the Forest, was fined at the rate of 3s. 4d. a year.[8] He must have made much more than this by his forge. The heaviest fine noticed

[1] Pipe Roll, 31 and 33 Hen. II; 16 and 24 Hen. III.

[2] *Ibid.*, m. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, m. 3*d*. [4] *Ibid.*, m. 2*d*.

[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 19. [6] *Ibid.*, m. 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, m. 18*d*., and No. 29, m. 2.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 18*d*.

in the Eyre Rolls, apart from those incurred by the constables, is that of four marks exacted from Adam the reeve of St. Briavels in 1282. The said Adam, when carrying the seal as one of the sellers of wood, had induced John the clerk of Dean to create a diversion by sounding his horn, while Adam fraudulently sealed a certain oak.[1] As an official betraying his trust, the reeve deserved a heavy punishment.

The penalties enforced for injuries to the venison, while they affected a smaller number of persons, were far more severe. How long the punishment of death or mutilation for the slaughter of a deer continued to be enforced in the Forest of Dean there is no evidence to show. No mention of a fine for taking venison has been found earlier than 1213.[2] The large sums exacted in 1176 under the head of "de misericordia pro foresta"[3] were probably connected with some lapse in duty on the part of the officials rather than with direct injuries to the venison. The names of the chief offenders are those of later foresters-in-fee. It is possible, therefore, that Henry II carried out his threat of doing justice after the fashion of his grandfather.[4] John, in one case at least, substituted an enormous fine of 200 marks and two palfreys. The offence concerned "a certain boar," and the offenders were the monks of Tintern, upon whom vengeance in any other form would have been obviously impracticable.[5]

The lack of evidence in sufficient detail makes it difficult to gauge the severity of the punishments inflicted after 1217, when life and limb were assured. Thus it is seldom possible to determine how long a culprit, taken in the act, had lain in prison before his release on bail. It is clear from a solitary entry in the Eyre Roll of 1282 that it might be a very long

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., m. 4.

[2] A fine of 20s. for disposing of a sick hind without view of the foresters is recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1 John.

[3] *Ibid.*, 22 Hen. II.

[4] *Cf.* Assize of the Forest, §1, *Select Charters*, p. 157

[5] Pipe Roll, 14 John and 3 Hen. III.

time. The entry records that William Mile, of Littledean, taken with the limb of a deer, had lain in prison at Gloucester for two years and a half.[1] The fact was probably noted on the roll because it was exceptional, and to be taken into consideration in assessing the fine. Where it is possible to compare the date given in the king's directions for bail with that of the offence described in the Eyre Rolls, the delay does not seem unreasonable. Thus Richard of Mutheleye, clerk, and Thomas of Clifford were taken red-handed on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Margaret,[2] 1251, and released to pledges by the king's writ on August 15th in the same year.[3] On St. Thomas Day, 1275, there was only one prisoner taken for a venison offence confined in the Castle of St. Briavels,[4] but there may have been others at Gloucester. It is probable that poor offenders would have difficulty in raising the sum demanded for a writ releasing them to bail. Half a mark each is the sum named in a writ of 1250,[5] and double that amount in a writ of 1253.[6] Moreover, the difficulty of getting pledges who should make themselves responsible for producing the accused before the justices in eyre must often have been considerable. The individuals who undertook this duty ran great risk of incurring fine on one plea or another. In the Eyre Roll of 1282 alone, there are over 300 entries relating to pledges who have failed to produce their man or have suffered him to continue his ill deeds. Their fines average about 1s. 7d. a head. One instance has been found of a fine of £5.[7]

If, however, the offender could get his writ and find his

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 10*d.*

[2] July 20th ; For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 3*d.*

[3] Fine Roll, 35 Hen. III, m. 18.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30. His name was John Chasegre. If he is to be identified with an offender of the same name taken red-handed on Christmas Eve, 1273 (*ibid.*, m. 10) he must have lain there for two years.

[5] Fine Roll, 34 Hen. III, Sept. 7th. [6] *Ibid.*, 37 Hen. III, Aug. 13th.

[7] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 9.

pledges the worst of his troubles was over. True, when the justices came round he had to find a fresh set of pledges to hold themselves responsible for his future good conduct; but the actual fine inflicted on him was usually reasonable. There are numerous instances on the rolls of the pardon of the culprit "because he is poor." On several occasions the justices showed themselves most anxious to meet the offender. In the roll of 1282 it is stated of a culprit found carrying a fawn on a horse towards Newnham that he was released by the king's writ because he was poor, pardoned the price of the horse for the same reason, and allowed to take an oath not to poach again, because he could not find pledges.[1] Half a mark frequently covered a whole series of offences, as in the case of Philip Attehavene, of Purton, who regularly received stolen venison and sold it in Bristol.[2] In the Eyre Roll of 1258 the fine for taking venison rarely exceeds one mark. The scale is slightly higher in 1270. In 1282 fines of 40s. are comparatively common. In one or two instances they rise to six and even ten marks.[3] Receivers of stolen venison are punished at much the same rate. For a fresh offence, committed after the accused had been released on bail, fines of two and five marks are recorded. Two culprits who had escaped from prison, and were brought up again in 1282, had to pay £1 each.[4] In a case where certain men had entered the Forest and overcome and insulted the king's foresters five marks were exacted.[5] Only one allusion has been found to the killing of an offender in capture.[6] There would seem on the whole to have been wonderfully little violence.

It is clear that fines were assessed quite as much with

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 8. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 5*d*.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 5*d*, m. 6*d*. No reason appears for such severity in the former case; in the latter the offender was one of several evil-doers who had entered the Forest with bows and arrows.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, m. 4. [6] *Ibid.*, m. 7.

regard to the wealth of the offender as to the character of his offence. Thus Richard de Saleriis, knight, paid £5 for two offences in 1282.[1] The Prior of Lanthony in Wales was fined twenty marks for harbouring poachers in 1270.[2] Probably Robert Motun, of Alton, who was fined seventeen marks for two incursions into the Forest with seven others,[3] was also a person of property. At an earlier date Anselm Marshall had incurred a fine of £5 for taking venison without leave.[4] No doubt the fines exacted in the king's court in cases referred to it were often heavier than those recorded in the Eyre Rolls. It was probably here that the enormous fine of 300 marks was imposed upon Walter de Musegros in 1253 "for a transgression concerning the venison in the Forest of Dean.[5] It is difficult to guess what offence could have caused such a wide departure from the usual rate of fine.

Considered as a whole, the law relating to theft in the Forest, at least from 1217, was lenient compared with the law elsewhere. At a time when the ordinary thief who stole more than a shillingworth was lucky if he escaped mutilation or hanging,[6] the stealer of venison could generally get off with a short imprisonment and a moderate fine. Often, no doubt, he escaped altogether. It was easy to slip across into Wales, and the rolls are full of entries concerning poachers who cannot be found. Even an individual as well known as the parson of a neighbouring village might not be brought to justice until twelve years after his misdeeds had been presented.[7] Under such circumstances the profession of wood-stealer could be carried on at a considerable profit. There is ample evidence of its popularity. About half the entries in the Eyre Roll of 1270 relate to habitual offenders.

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 9.

[4] Pipe Roll, 25 Hen. III., Glouc. [5] *Ibid.*, 37 Hen. III.

[6] *Cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, vol. ii. pp. 494–6.

[7] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 6*d*, and No. 30, m. 12*d*.

Over thirty names of persistent poachers appear in the regard of 1282. Numbers of the more important inhabitants were concerned in their doings. Among those who harboured poachers or received their venison appear, in 1270 alone, the names of the Abbot of Tintern, the Priors of Lanthony in Wales and of Chepstow, Master Jacob, Archdeacon of Hereford, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's in Bristol, to say nothing of numerous lesser folk, lay and clerical. One, William Cappe, regularly supplied the canons of Hereford with venison, receiving board and lodging in return.[1] The Wye and the Severn gave excellent facilities for a more extended trade. The regard of 1282 names some twenty owners of boats employed for the transport of venison and wood. Bristol was the usual objective. The names of several citizens, receivers of stolen venison, are given in the Eyre Rolls. Certain of them were in the habit of visiting the Forest to negotiate with poachers under pretext of buying iron.[2] The fines of two only are recorded[3] on the rolls. The burgesses of Bristol, with an eye to business, had provided themselves with a charter of Henry III granting that none of them should be called in question for venison found within their walls.[4] The charter, which was produced at the eyre of 1282 and is transcribed on the roll,[5] bears no date, and was obviously regarded by the justices with suspicion.[6] Proceedings, however, were stayed pending the king's decision.[7] It would be interesting to know what that was.

The charcoal burners formed a second class for whom the Forest provided a livelihood. It is not clear from the rolls how far their presence was tolerated by the forest law,

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, m. 5*d*. [3] *Ibid.*, m. 12 and 12*d*.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 8*d*. [5] *Ibid.*, m. 30.

[6] *Ibid.*, m. 28*d*. The citizens were ordered to send twelve good men to produce their charter *coram rege*.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 8*d*.

but it is quite evident that their usual proceedings disregarded it. The great destruction and waste committed by charcoal burners, who "bought wood from the foresters and also took furtively," is recorded in the Eyre Roll of 1270.[1] In consequence it was ordered that none should henceforth have a hearth for making charcoal in the Forest. The small effect produced by this order is proved by the existence in 1282 of nearly 900 hearths in four of the demesne woods alone.[2]

There were other advantages of a more recognised character which did something to compensate the ordinary landholder for the restrictions imposed upon him. Of these the profits to be derived from iron working were among the most considerable. The subject has been discussed at some length by Mr. H. G. Nicholls[3] and in the *Queen Victoria History of Gloucestershire.*[4] It is not proposed, therefore, to do more than touch upon it here. As early as Henry II's reign there were numerous forges in private hands within the Forest.[5] In some cases the right to hold a forge had been specially conferred by the king. There was such a grant to the Abbot of Flaxley at the beginning of Henry II's reign.[6] Occasionally the grant of a forge was supplemented by the gift of wood for its maintenance. Thus the Abbot of Flaxley was entitled in the middle of the thirteenth century to two oaks a week;[7] Mabel de Cantilupe had one.[8] Others were supposed to content themselves with the dead and dry wood.[9] Besides those who held by royal grant, there were many owners whose claims were doubtful. In theory no forge might be held but by royal

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 17.
[3] *Iron Making in the Forest of Dean.* [4] Vol. ii. p. 217 ff.
[5] *Ibid.* Cf. Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. II; Close Roll, 5 Hen. II, m. 6, 13.
[6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30*d.*
[7] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25. In 1258 the abbey received instead the wood now called Abbot's Wood.—*Ibid.*; Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 31.
[8] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25. [9] Close Roll, 1 Hen. III. m. 1.

licence; in practice the rule was constantly evaded. New forges were set up and wood taken for them without the king's permission or in actual defiance of his orders. In 1217 the damage done by them resulted in an order that all forges in private hands should be removed, with six exceptions.[1] Three years later the claimants were directed to appear before Hubert de Burgh to prove their claims. Many were apparently restored to possession.[2] The prohibition was soon either removed or ignored. Before the middle of the century there were between twenty-five and thirty forges in the Forest,[3] a number which had increased to at least forty-three in 1270[4] and sixty in 1282.[5] A year or two later the number had diminished to forty-five,[6] perhaps as a result of fresh royal action in view of the damage done by them. It is clear from the Eyre Rolls of 1270[7] and 1282[8] that the holders had appropriated large quantities of wood for their maintenance. The value of the wood or charcoal needed to maintain a forge for a whole year seems to have been anything from £12 to £70, according to contemporary estimates.[9] Occasionally fuel was brought in from outside.[10] As a rule, it was obtained at the king's expense.[11] In return the owners paid only a rent of 7s. a year[12] and an occasional fine when some unusual encroachment was discovered.[13] The annual value of a forge appears to have been estimated at anything from ten marks to £50 a year. The former sum was that granted to Mabel de Cantilupe in lieu of her forge in 1248.[14] It probably does not represent the full value. The forge claimed by Sir Henry de Cadurcis was

[1] Close Roll., 1 Hen. III, m. 1.
[2] Cf. *ibid.*, 4 Hen. III, m. 1; 5 Hen. III, m. 19, 13, 6.
[3] *Cf.* For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, Nos. 25 and 26.
[4] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 2. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 18*d*.
[6] Chanc. Misc., bdl. 11, No. 3. [7] For. Proc., Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 2.
[8] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 18*d*.
[9] Chanc. Misc., bdl. 11, No. 3, and For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 26.
[10] *Ibid.*, No. 25. [11] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 2, and No. 30, m. 18*d*.
[12] *Ibid.*, No. 31. [13] *Ibid.*, No. 29, m. 2, and No. 30, m. 18*d*.
[14] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 34 Hen. III, comp. of P. de Chaceporc.

said to be worth 48 marks a year.[1] In 1276 he was granted 500 marks in quit claim. The king's own "great forge" sometimes brought in as much as £50 a year,[2] but this was exceptional. The forges could only be worked at a substantial profit because their owners paid little or nothing for the fuel.

The mining rights enjoyed by the inhabitants were already considerable, if not yet formulated in the comprehensive fashion of the Miners' Book of Laws. The date of this document has been disputed. In its seventeenth-century form it purports to state "what the Customes and Franchises hath been that were graunted tyme out of Minde and after in tyme of the Excellent and Redoubted Prince King Edward (the Third)."[3] The last two words are found in one copy only. Mr. Nicholls considered that they were a later insertion, and that the grant should be ascribed to Edward I.[4] There is little evidence in contemporary records either to disprove or to prove his theory. The more important rights secured to the miners, who must be born and bred in the Forest, were as follows: freedom to mine in any soil, subject to certain dues to the king and the lord of the soil; free access to the mine; provision of timber needed for the works; power to distrain for debt, to try all cases affecting the mines in their own court, and to exclude all foreigners. Of these, no allusion to the mine law court, to the right of distraint, or to the exclusion of strangers has been found in any other document of the period under discussion; but the regulations with regard to the dues paid by the miners were already in working before the middle of the thirteenth century[5] on much the same lines. The

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 93. [2] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1 No. 26.

[3] *The Laws and Customs of the Miners in the Forest of Dean*, printed from a transcript made in 1673, now in the Crown Office, Whitemead Park; reprinted by Mr. H. G. Nicholls in *Iron Making in the Forest of Dean.*

[4] *The Forest of Dean*, p. 13. [5] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

financial relations between the king and the miners are given more fully in the regard of 1282.[1] It is clear from a statement of the regarders that the miners were already entitled to receive timber for their works. In return they paid to the king a halfpenny for every load carried out of the Forest, together with a penny a week from each workman taking weekly three loads and over in the bailiwicks of Micheldean, Bearse and Stanton.[2] Elsewhere in the Forest this latter due was paid not to the king, but to the lord of the manor. Thus Ralph of Abenhall claimed the ore in Abenhall, Cecilia of Musegros in Bicknor, and Walter of Aston in Blakeney; Sir Richard Talbot claimed it in Lea, and the Earl of Warwick in his wood at Lydney. Coal mines were subject to much the same regulations. It would appear from an inquisition of 1287 that the owners of the soil had as yet the right to forbid mining of any sort on their property.[3]

All the inhabitants, it seems, enjoyed more or less extensive common rights of pasture and wood, at least in the thirteenth century. A letter close to John de Monmouth of 7 Henry III directed him to cause the men dwelling in the Forest to have reasonable estover of pasture, as of wood, as in the time of King John before the war between him and his barons.[4] At a much later date the Forest vills claimed to have enjoyed "as belonging to their ancient messuages, lands and tenements, common of pasture, herbage and pannage for all their commonable cattle all the year without attachment, common of estover in the woods, viz. housebote, haybote and firebote, and liberty to dig for stone if necessary," paying 2d. a year.[5] Perhaps these extensive rights were already enjoyed in the thirteenth century; but there is little evidence as to their exact nature at this time. The rights restored to the men of Rodley in 1256 included estover of dead and dry

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
For other royal rights, see pp. 223, 224.
[3] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 144. [4] m. 16.
[5] *Temp.* Charles II. Bigland, *Hist. of Glos.*, app. v.

wood, their pigs quit of pannage, and their cattle quit of herbage.[1] In the next century the lord of the manor claimed that his ancestors had always enjoyed estover for their weirs.[2] The frequent grants of wood for the purpose in the period under discussion[3] seem to show that this, until quite recently, had been a matter of grace rather than of right. The Bishop of Hereford claimed the right to take wood at his pleasure in his wood at Ross. Lady Joan de Knovile did the like in her wood of Old Penyard. The men of St. Briavels exercised similar rights in Hudnalls Wood, which was royal demesne.[4] These rights were obviously considered doubtful by the regarders of 1282. The claim of the Rector of Aure to housebote and haybote for the houses of the church was definitely rejected by the justices in that year.[5] Rights of pasture, whatever they properly included, seem frequently to have been abused. The verdict of 1244–8 recorded that the pasture had been burdened by the cattle of the vills of Ruardean, Bicknor and Dene, and that Hugh of Kynardesley had set up a sheepfold in Newland to the injury of the Forest. In 1282 the regarders noted, under the heading "Surcharge of Pasture," that the Abbot of Flaxley was turning eleven plough teams into the Forest every summer, and that the same abbot, the Prior of Llanthony near Gloucester, and the Abbot of Gracedieu had each a stud of horses in the Forest.[6]

Beyond this, numerous rights of warren and chase were claimed and exercised within the official bounds of the Forest. The Earl Marshal had enjoyed such rights in his lordship of Chepstow at least from the beginning of Henry III's reign.[7] In 1282 the lord Edmund, brother of

[1] Close Roll, 40 Hen. III, m. 3. [2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 260.

[3] Close Roll, 33 Hen. III, m. 16; 45, m. 13; 46, m. 10; 26 Edw. I, m. 11, etc.

[4] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 2.

[6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[7] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25, and Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d*.

the king, and Sir Roger de Clifford each claimed that they and all the lords of Monmouth had at all times been accustomed to take venison and wood at their will in their respective woods of Henderleys and Wysham and Hodenac.[1] Already in 1228 the Bishop of Hereford had his chase "from ancient times" in a wood called Laxpeniard.[2] In 1282 his rights were shared by Richard Talbot.[3] The lady Joan de Knoville also took venison in her wood of Penyard, and claimed warren besides, but the regarders knew not by what warrant.[4]

Special licence to hunt the fox, cat and wolf in the Forest was occasionally granted by the king;[5] more rarely leave to hunt the deer for a limited time could be obtained. Thus in 1253 permission was granted to the wife of Reginald FitzPeter to have one course with two greyhounds on her passage through the Forest of Dean.[6] In 1292 Roger le Bigod obtained leave for one year to follow such deer as he and his people started in his free chase of Striguil into any part of the Forest, and to take them away when caught.[7]

Gifts of venison as of wood were numerous in the thirteenth century. Some 220 grants of venison have been traced in the period 1217 to 1307.[8] The grants were sometimes considerable. In 26 Henry III the Bishop of Hereford was given four hinds, two boars and ten does.[9] A few years earlier he had received five bucks and twenty does to stock his park at Prestbury.[10] Four or five animals formed a more normal present. Some 200 entries recording grants of timber have been found for the same period. Occasionally the grant included as many as sixty oaks.[11]

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31. [2] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III, m. 10*d.*
[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] Pat. Rot., 37 and 38 Hen. III, pt. ii, m. 11; 55 Hen. III, m. 29; 1 Edw. I, m. 23; 9 Edw. I, m. 20, etc.
[6] Close Roll, 37 Hen. III, m. 12. [7] Pat. Rot., 9 Edw. I, m. 23.
[8] More than four-fifths of the whole before 1272.
[9] Close Roll, 26 Hen. III, pt. i. m. 15.
[10] *Ibid.*, 19, m. 6. [11] *Ibid.*, 30, m. 16.

Usually it comprised four to ten. In the majority of cases the recipients of wood and venison were persons of some importance in the Forest or its neighbourhood.

It was naturally to the great religious houses in or near the Forest that royal grants of all sorts were most numerous. The privileges enjoyed by Flaxley Abbey have been fully described elsewhere.[1] They may be summarised here. By charter of Henry II[2] Flaxley secured certain lands, including those on which the abbey was built, "quit of all regards and other secular exactions;" all easements in the Forest of Dene, to wit common of pasture for their young cattle and hogs and all other beasts, wood and timber for repairs and other necessaries without waste; and an iron forge with as free liberty to work as any forge of the king's. In 1227 it received a grant of the wood round the abbey for fuel in place of an unrestricted right to take firewood at will.[3] For the maintenance of its forge the abbey claimed to take two oaks a week.[4] The injurious effects upon the Forest led, in 1258, to the grant in quit claim of a second wood "quit of waste, regard and view of the foresters, with the attachments of the said wood, saving to the king venison, eyries and minerals."[5] In return the abbot paid seven marks of gold and ten of silver.[6] There is nothing to show how much his earlier privileges cost him. Other grants of like kind are recorded;—land,[7] timber for the works of the abbey,[8] permission to set up a sheep-cot,[9] and so forth.

The privileges conceded to Tintern Abbey in connection with the Forest were less numerous. It seems to have looked rather to the lords of Chepstow, and sought advantages

[1] *Flaxley Cartulary*, ed. A. W. Crawley-Boevey.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 15 and 176; *cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 30*d*.
[3] *Ibid.*, m. 31*d*, and *Flax. Cart.*, p. 108.
[4] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[5] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 31; *Flax. Cart.*, p. 109.
[6] Fine Roll, 43 Hen. III, m. 5.
[7] *Cf.* Close Roll, 14 Hen. III, m. 6; 15, m. 10.
[8] *Ibid.*, 13 Hen. III, m. 8; 15 Hen. III, m. 14.
[9] *Ibid.*, 6 Hen. III, m. 13.

in Tidenham Chase or beyond the Wye.[1] In an inquisition of 1268, as to what liberties the Abbot and Convent of Tintern had by royal charter in the Forest of Dene, the jurors found only a right to take iron ore for their forge without payment.[2] No special rights seem to have attached to the Manor of Hewelsfield granted to the abbey by Prince Edward in 1266.[3] The abbot, it would appear, promptly "gave that manor to the Earl Marshal as belonging to his castle of Striguil, and the earl gave it back to the said abbot to hold of the said earl."[4] In 1234 the abbot received permission to have forty mares with their foals in the Forest in consideration of the losses sustained in the war between the king and Richard Marshal.[5] It is not clear what his part in the struggle had been.

The rights enjoyed by the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester were much more comprehensive. A tithe of all venison taken in the Forest of Dean was claimed by it in virtue of a charter of Henry I.[6] There are frequent directions in the thirteenth century for the delivery to the monks of the venison due to them.[7] In support of their claim to free warren in all their lands beyond the Severn, the monks produced charters of William I, Henry I, Stephen and Henry II.[8] The right was evidently exercised; for we find in Henry III's reign that the abbot has dogs within the bounds of the Forest for coursing the hare and fox.[9] By charter of Henry II, the abbey claimed to hold the wood belonging to its Manor of Rodley outside the regard to assart at will.[10] The claim

[1] *Cf.* Charter Rolls, 35 Edw. I, m. 6.

[2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 39.

[3] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 31.

[4] *Hund. Rolls*, vol. i. p. 176. [5] Pat. Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 3.

[6] *Hist. et Cart. S. Pet. Glouc.*, vol. ii. p. 177, and For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 32.

[7] *Ibid.*, m. 13, and Close Roll, 11 Hen. III, m. 26; 18, m. 21; 24, m. 5; 40, m. 5, etc.

[8] *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. ii. p. 186; Glouc. Cath. Lib., Fro. Reg. A, Nos. 15, 41, 45.

[9] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

[10] *Ibid.*, Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2*d*.

was duly admitted by the Crown.[1] In 1338 the abbot asserted that he and his ancestors had enjoyed from time immemorial the right of making profit of the whole wood of Hopemansel;[2] but this claim does not seem to be borne out by the evidence, as far as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are concerned. Special permission to cut the underwood in Hopemansel was granted in 1281;[3] otherwise waste was punished here as elsewhere.[4] Gifts of timber from the royal woods were occasionally made.[5] On one occasion the abbot secured with some difficulty as many as a hundred oaks for repairs.[6] In the same year (1234) he was granted leave to have from the Feast of the Purification till three weeks before Easter a horse carrying dry and dead wood to his mill at Rodley to melt lead for the church.[7] The tenants of Rodley claimed common for all their beasts in the Forest by Henry II's charter.[8] The abbot's claim to further rights of pasture was held to be doubtful.[9]

To the bishop of the diocese were sent numerous offerings of venison. From Henry II he received license to assart lands upon the Wye within certain clearly defined limits.[10] He was pardoned more than once for taking venison without leave.[11] But of the privileges of the Cathedral Church of Hereford little is said beyond the record of occasional grants of timber for its works.[12] In 1305 a tithe of all new assarts in the Forest was given by Edward I not to Hereford, but to Llandaff.[13] The grant led to trouble between the Bishop

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

[2] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 273. [3] Pat. Roll, 9 Edw. I, m. 19.

[4] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 8, and No. 29, m. 8.

[5] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, m. 15; 18, m. 35; 54, m. 9, etc.

[6] *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III, m. 19. [7] *Ibid.*, m. 31.

[8] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 2*d*. Cf. *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. ii. p. 187.

[9] Close Roll, 33 Hen. III, m. 4.

[10] *Reg. T. de Cantilupe*, vol. i. p. 96.

[11] *Cf.* Close Roll, 31 Hen. III, m. 9; 7 Edw. I, April 28th.

[12] *Ibid.*, 12 Hen. III, m. 3; 47, m. 3.

[13] Pat. Roll, 33 Edw. I, m. 4.

of Llandaff and the parsons of certain parishes in the Forest, who claimed the tithes for themselves.[1] However, the bishop was supported by the king and the neighbourhood.[2]

Some twenty or thirty churches were more or less frequent recipients of timber and firewood. The friars (Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite) at Gloucester and Bristol were among the most favoured. Rarer grants were made to the Abbeys of Tewkesbury and Winchcomb and the Priory of Great Malvern. In 1265 the brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew were granted four oaks for the repair of Gloucester Bridge.[3] In the work of more than one of the great churches of the thirteenth century timber from the Forest of Dean was used. In 1232 the Bishop of Worcester received forty oaks for rafters for the new work in his church.[4] In the following year 100 oaks were granted for the work of his church to the Abbot of Pershore.[5] A like grant was made in 1234 to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.[6] In 1245 forty oaks were given to Richard Earl of Cornwall "for the works of an abbey which he is about to found in the Manor of Hayles."[7] Another sixty oaks followed in 1246.[8] Five years later the abbot was in possession, and needing five more oaks for the stalls of his church.[9] The dormitory, however, was still incomplete in 1252, when a further grant of twenty oaks was made for its provision.[10]

Outside the Forest it was possible for nobles and religious houses to enjoy at times the advantages of carefully preserved game and timber without accompanying restraints. Within the Forest the facilities afforded for profit did something to compensate its inhabitants for the manifold exactions of the Crown; but they probably reduced very little the

[1] *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. v. p. 45.
[2] *Ibid.* and Close Roll, 2 Edw. II, m. 17.
[3] Close Roll, 49 Hen. III, m. 11. [4] *Ibid.*, 16 Hen. III.
[5] *Ibid.*, 17 Hen. III.
[6] *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III and 20 Hen. III, m. 13.
[7] *Ibid.*, 29 Hen. III, m. 5. [8] *Ibid.*, 30 Hen. III, m. 16.
[9] *Ibid.*, 35 Hen. III, m. 10. [10] *Ibid.*, 36 Hen. III, m. 32.

constant friction between Crown and subject produced by the forest law.

The unpopularity of the forest system was no doubt due in large part to its expense. Fines, if not always heavy, were numerous, and imposed at every turn. In a period of frequent eyres payment would soon become burdensome to the poorer inhabitant. In later times, if a reckoning came less often, it was apt to be heavier for the delay. In the solitary eyre of Edward's reign the average fine is higher and the total number imposed far greater than heretofore. The severity of this eyre helps to explain the growing demand for disafforestation answered in 1301. The wealthy, if better able to bear expense, were subjected at times to fines which may well have crippled their resources. Attacks on the forest system would certainly not have lacked leaders among the magnates of the neighbourhood.

On the other hand, there were many financial compensations, and the forest dweller was to find that disafforestation brought loss as well as gain.[1] As to its severity, the forest law, even at its worst, was perhaps not much more harsh than the ordinary law could be. At its best, the comparison was in its favour. Irksome it undoubtedly was; the innumerable petty restrictions involved must have been a serious stumbling-block to many loyal subjects. But as far as Dean Forest is concerned, much of the ill-will aroused seems traceable less to the deliberate hardships inflicted by forest law than to the uncertainty inherent in an arbitrary system. Dependent as that system was in the last resort on the individual will of the king and of certain irresponsible officials, it afforded neither security to the welldoer nor an adequate knowledge of the consequences to the evil. Rights and punishments were equally uncertain. The financial needs of the moment rather than any definite scale, however severe, determined the enormous fines inflicted more than once

[1] Cf. *Ord. Forestæ*, vol. vi.

by the early Angevins[1] Under Henry III and Edward I justice was administered for the most part as reasonably as the system would allow; but there was no certainty about it. The local magnate who took venison without leave might secure with more or less ease a pardon from the king;[2] on the other hand, he might be subjected to a crushing fine. The ordinary poacher taken red-handed might, and perhaps generally did, get off with a short imprisonment and a fine of one or two marks all told; on the other hand, he might conceivably expiate his offence by a couple of years in prison. In such cases he was the victim less of deliberate cruelty than of carelessness. As a rule, the king was willing to forgive if there was nothing to be gained by punishment. If it proved feasible to exact a heavy fine from some wealthy offender, he exacted it; if not, he forgave the offender or accepted a compromise.[3] The unpopularity of the first course is obvious; the second must often have failed to dispel the irritation which the threatened fine had aroused.

The king was, in fact, unable to enforce the system in its entirety. Encroachments suffered to remain unpunished became prescriptive rights, tolerated at one time and disputed at another according to the needs of the moment. The unsatisfactoriness of this state of affairs is illustrated perhaps most clearly in the relations of the Crown with the lords of Chepstow. The Earl Marshal, according to the verdict of 1244–8,[4] had withdrawn his chase of Tidenham from the Forest in the early years of Henry III. Neither these jurors, nor those who drew up the Hundred Rolls,[5] nor the regarders of 1282,[6] knew of any warrant for his proceeding. Allowed to remain in the earl's possession,

[1] *Cf.* Pipe Roll, 22 Hen. II and 14 John, *ante*, p. 261.
[2] *Cf.* Close Roll, 7 Edw. I, m. 7.
[3] Cf. *Ibid*, 42 Hen. III, m. 8.
[4] For. Proc. K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.
[5] Vol. i. p. 181. [6] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.

the chase became the starting-point for his hunting parties in the Forest and the refuge of the poachers of the neighbourhood.[1] Both Roger le Bigod, who succeeded in 1242, and his successor of the same name, were in the habit of snaring game in the wood at Alvington within the Forest.[2] It was not until 1282 that serious action was taken. The earl had ignored the order of the justices to produce the defaulters under his protection or to appear in person.[3] In consequence directions were issued that the liberty of Striguil, together with the lands of the earl in other counties, should be taken into the king's hands.[4] Such retribution after long years of immunity may well have been among the forces which drove the earl to his championship of constitutional liberty.

There is the same lack of consistent policy in the attitude of the Crown towards the owners of forges. At one moment, influenced by the prospect of increasing rents, it would tolerate or even sanction their activities; at another, alarmed by the injury to the timber, it would ban all forges or exact heavy fines from their owners.

Even when rights had been definitely granted and paid for, the king could seldom resist the temptation to make more out of them. Thus the tenants of assarts, duly allotted to them at a fixed rent by the constable, might suddenly find themselves threatened with confiscation. A document, which seems to belong to the early part of Henry III's reign, records the offer of thirty marks by certain tenants of Dean Forest "in order that they may have letters patent as they had letters close addressed to Roger de Clifford, so that they may hold their assarts in the same manner as now."[5] Payment for the confirmation of former grants was, of course, not unknown outside the Forest, but in this case the grant had been made by Henry himself but a few years before.

[1] For Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 30, m. 11*d*. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, m. 8. [4] *Ibid.*, and m. 28*d*.
[5] *Ibid.* K. R., bdl. 1, No. 27.

In many cases, no doubt, there was actual uncertainty in the royal mind as to the genuineness of the rights claimed. Hence the numerous orders of the period for inquiries on the subject. Had the Abbot of Gloucester rights of common?[1] What liberties had the Abbey of Tintern in the Forest?[2] How much firewood could the Abbot of Flaxley lawfully take?[3] It was often extraordinarily difficult to arrive at a definite answer. Where rights were ill-defined, it was always possible for claimants and officials to quarrel over their interpretation. The repeated orders of the Crown that the abbot be allowed to have his forge or his wood or his pasture in peace[4] seem to show that such quarrels were frequent.

The rights claimed by the subject had, in fact, to be defended not only against the Crown, but also against the forest officials. In some cases, no doubt, the obstruction offered by the constable was the outcome of honest doubt; in others, obvious encroachments had to be withstood. But his readiness to accept bribes on occasions[5] make it likely that his opposition might sometimes have been withdrawn if the claimant had made it worth while. Of direct evidence as to the motives of the constable there is comparatively little. Thus an objection to the occupation of land duly allotted,[6] or the seizure of a wood contrary to the charters,"[7] may well have been due to a misunderstanding; but the difficulty experienced by a great religious house in securing the hundred oaks promised to it, in view of repeated orders on its behalf,[8] could scarcely have been caused by any doubt as to its right. Sometimes, it is clear, rights were deliberately violated by the constable with profit in view.

[1] Close Roll, 33 Hen. III, m. 4. [2] *Glos. I., P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 39.
[3] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, m. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, 10 Hen. III, m. 9; 18, m. 15; 19, m. 15; 7, m. 23, m. 19; 8, m. 11, etc.
[5] *Cf.* For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 29, m. 1*d*.
[6] Close Roll, 15 Hen. III, m. 3.
[7] *Ibid.*, 3 Edw. I, m. 16. [8] *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III, m. 21, 19, etc.

Instances are recorded of the seizure of private property without shadow of excuse,[1] and of fines and imprisonments which are clearly illegal.[2] No doubt, too, abuse of rights sometimes met with unauthorised punishment at the hands of the wardens. There is a suggestive entry in the Eyre Roll of 1282. The constable of St. Briavels is ordered to see to it that those attacked for vert be not imprisoned in the Castle, nor heavily burdened against the assize, viz. concerning attachments which ought to be pleaded before the justices and such as can find two pledges.[3] Actual examples of oppression on the part of the constable are, however, comparatively rare; many, no doubt, never came to light.

It is probable that the mass of the inhabitants suffered less from the constable than from his subordinates. There is a long account in the verdict of 1244–8[4] of the exactions of William of Abenhall, forester-in-fee. He exacted forced labour from the men of Lea who brought their cattle to feed on Walmore Common and a hen from each of them at Christmas, "to the injury of the men of the lord king, who have their common in the aforesaid pasture." He took fines for the exercise of common rights in Rodley, to the injury of the king's men there. Moreover, he exacted from all men frequenting his bailiwick a hen at Christmas and a kid from such as owned them. The jurors knew of no warrant for all this. They stated, moreover, that the foresters of Dene and Abenhall would not permit the men of the royal manors to have housebote and haybote to which they were entitled. All the foresters, it appeared, took fines of those coming into their bailiwicks to carry off brushwood and suchlike; but this was probably no more than the chiminage permitted by the Charter of the Forest. The fines exacted by the bailiff of St. Briavels for cattle impounded for one night were plainly stigmatised by the jurors as unjust.

[1] e.g. *Glos. I. P. M.*, vol. iv. p. 144.
[2] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 28, m. 4; No. 30, m. 28–30.
[3] *Ibid.*, m. 33. [4] *Ibid.*, K. R., bdl. 1, No. 25.

Of foresters who burdened their bailiwicks by extorting undue hospitality and other unlawful exactions the jurors, however, knew nothing. Of such exactions there are one or two instances in the regard of 1282.[1] Richard of Alvington has set up scotales and fined the people who would not come thereto. The two sergeants of Walter of Aston, forester of Blakeney, collect the corn in his bailiwick every year. The foresters take the trunks of trees delivered to the miners for mine props, and do with them what they will. One case of false presentment, made in malice by Ralph of Abenhall, appears on the Eyre Roll of 1281.[2] It is probable that many petty aggressions failed to reach the king's ear. But as far as the evidence goes, there is little proof of such grievous exactions in Dean as those which called forth the plaints of the Somerset folk in 1279.[3] Perhaps the extortions of royal officials here were not heavier than those which a sheriff and his subordinates knew how to inflict elsewhere. The foresters would seem to have made their profit less at the expense of the neighbourhood than at that of the Crown.[4] Some at least of their exactions were more or less recognised; but the knowledge that at any moment rights might be disregarded and fresh burdens imposed, with often but small chance of redress, must have strengthened that sense of insecurity which the whole forest system engendered.

In conclusion, the lot of the subject in the Forest was by no means one of unmitigated hardship. If exactions were numerous and occasionally heavy, there is little evidence of any great oppression on the part of officials, and there were many financial compensations. But the whole system was demoralising. The king, in order to make his profits, placed fresh stumbling-blocks in the paths of his subjects, and so weakened rather than strengthened the cause of order.

[1] For. Proc. Tr. of Rec., No. 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 30, m. 4.
[3] *Select Pleas of the Forest*, pp. 125—9.
[4] Cf. *ante*, pp. 200, 201.

The Eyre Rolls of Dean Forest afford ample proof of a widespread contempt for law. The uncertainty of rights and the irregularity of punishments aggravated the evil. It was impossible to enforce the forest law in its entirety; it was equally impossible to exact its penalties. The heavier fines had constantly to be remitted; the smaller were often not forthcoming. Thus, even from the financial point of view, the system left much to be desired. Moreover, the absence of adequate control allowed considerable freedom to the local officials responsible for the protection of royal rights. These were seldom proof against the temptations of their position. Much of the profits which should have gone to the Crown passed into the hands of warden and foresters. Such conditions were not, of course, peculiar to the Forest; but they appear here in an aggravated form. It was a method of collecting revenue more than usually wasteful and expensive. Yet the opportunities it offered were too attractive to be withstood. If the net proceeds, in this Forest at least, seldom came up to the royal expectation, the kings of the period obviously considered them to be worth the sacrifice involved.

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Originalia Rolls summarised in *Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio.* The rolls themselves have been investigated in some cases.

Forest Proceedings, Treasury of Receipt and King's Remembrancer. These are among the most important sources.

A transcript of part of the Eyre Roll of 1258 (Tr. of Rec., No. 28) has been kindly lent by Mr. G. J. Turner.

Part of the regard of 1282 (Tr. of Rec., No. 31) is printed in *Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, vol. xiv. p. 216 *seq.* A translation of the whole has been very kindly lent by Mr. J. G. Wood.

The Gloucestershire portion of the perambulation of 28 Edward I (Tr. of Rec., No. 255) is printed in the *Third Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests*, also in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. pt. i., with an introductory note by Mr. G. J. Turner.

Of less importance are :—

Forest Accounts (Exchequer K. R.) and Miscellanea of the Exchequer.

Memoranda Rolls.

Ministers' Accounts.

Receipt Rolls.

Wardrobe and Household Accounts contain some relevant matter.

Chancery Records.

Calendar of Letters Patent, 1216–58 and 1272–1307.

Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 1201–16 (Rec. Com.).

P. R. O. MS. Calendar, 1258–72, and Patent Rolls Supplementary.

Calendar of Letters Close, 1227–37 and 1272–1307.

Rotuli Literarum Clausarum (Rec. Com.), 1204–27.

P. R. O. MS. Calendar 1237–72. The originals have been consulted where necessary.

Calendar of Charter Rolls from 1216 ; *Rotuli Chartarum*, 1199–1216. These Calendars form some of the most valuable sources of information.

Inquisitiones Post-mortem. Those relating to Gloucestershire have been printed in English by the British Record Society, and contain much important information ; referred to as *Glos. I. P. M.*

Fine Rolls. Many of these are given in Roberts' *Excerpta e Rotulio Finium*, 1216–72. Most of the originals have been consulted.

Rotuli Hundredorum (Rec. Com.).

Chancery Miscellanea furnish some information. A transcript of the leet before the foresters-in-fee (bdl. 1, No. 45) has been kindly lent by Mr. J. G. Wood.

Other Authorities.

Domesday Book, ed. 1783, vol. i; "Domesday Survey of Herefordshire," printed with notes in *Queen Victoria County History of Hereford*

Select Pleas of the Forest, ed. G. J. Turner (Selden Society).

Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester, 1221, ed. F. W. Maitland (Selden Society).

Statutes at Large.

Select Charters, ed. W. Stubbs.

Ancient Charters, ed. J. Ayloffe.

Royal Letters, ed. W. W. Shirley.

Flaxley Cartulary, ed. A. W. Crawley-Boevey.

Registers of Thomas de Cantilupe and Richard de Swinfield, ed. Cantilupe Society.

Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ.

Abbot Froucester's Register (Reg. A, Glouc. Cath. Lib.). Many of the charters bearing on the subject are printed in the collection just named.

Laws and Customs of the Miners of Dean Forest. A transcript is in the Bodleian Library (Rawl. MSS., c. 798) and Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 6683, p. 577. Printed in *Laws of the Forest of Dean and Hundred of St. Briavels* by J. G. Wood, and in *Iron-making in the Forest of Dean*, by H. G. Nicholls.

Bodleian Library MSS. Gough, Glouc., and Furney MSS. contain some information relating to the Forest, chiefly of a later date.

Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records.

P. R. O. Lists and Indices.

Chroniclers.

Some slight information is to be derived from the following—

Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica.*

Giraldus Cambrensis *Opera*, ed. G. S. Brewer, and *Itinerarium*, trans. R. C. Hoare.

Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series.

Maps.

Bodleian Library Gough Maps.

One-inch and six-inch Ordnance Map.

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General.

Adams, G. B., *The Political History of England*, 1066–1216.

Cox, J. C., *Royal Forests of England.*

Dictionary of English History, Art. "Forests."

Dictionary of National Biography.

Ducange, *Glossarium.*

Eyton, R. W., *Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II.*

Foss, E., *Judges of England.*

Gross, C., *Sources and Literature of English History.*

Hall, H., *Studies in English Official Historical Documents.*

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Manwood, J., *A Treatise and Discourse of the Laws of the Forest.*

McKecknie, W. S., *Magna Charta.*

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Ramsay, J. R., *Angevin Empire.*

Round, J. H., *Geoffrey de Mandeville.*

Tout, T. F., *The Political History England*, 1216–1377.

Turner, G. J., *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Introduction, pp. i to cxxxix), ed. Selden Society.

Special—Histories of Dean Forest.

H. G. Nicholls, *The Forest of Dean* (1858). This is the only work entirely devoted to the subject. The mediæval portion is scanty, and contains several mistakes.

J. C. Cox, *Royal Forests of England*, gives a short account of the Forest, pp. 274–82 ; that portion of it relating to the period in question occupies pp. 274–8.

Victoria History of the Counties of England—Gloucestershire. Vol. ii, *Art.* "Forestry," gives a very much condensed account of this Forest in the period (pp. 266–70), with many references to the original records.

All the older county histories contain historical sketches of the Forest. but they seldom give references, and contain many mistakes. Their value is therefore comparatively slight. The following have been consulted—

Atkyns, *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, 1717.

Rudder, *New History of Gloucestershire*, 1779.

Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, 1791.

Rudge, *History of Gloucestershire*, 1803.

Fosbrooke, *History of Gloucestershire*, 1807.

Camden's *Britannia* is open to the same criticism.

Other Works.

W. Bazeley and F. A. Hyett, *The Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature.*

C. S. Taylor, *Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire.*

J. G. Wood, *A Short History of Tintern.*

H. G. Nicholls, *Personalities of the Forest of Dean* (1863), and *Iron-making in the Forest of Dean*, 1866.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. These contain various papers relating to the subject, together with some extracts from original authorities.

Transactions of the Woolhope Club. Contain one or two papers relating to the boundaries of the Forest.

Third Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, 1788 ; *Fourth Report of the Dean Forest Commission*, 1834. These reports refer chiefly to a later period.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 153, note 1: *For* "Q. V. Hist. of Glos." *read* "Victoria History of Gloucestershire" (and elsewhere).

P. 154, note 5: *For* "Q. V. Hist. of Herefordshire" *read* "Victoria History of Herefordshire" (and elsewhere).

P. 162, bottom line: *For* "Exactly those of 1228" *read* "Apparently those of 1228."

P. 163, note 1: *Add* after "No. 31" "*Cf.* Trans. of the Woolhope Club, 1901, pp. 207–11."

P. 202, note 1: *For* "29 Edw. I" *read* "Pipe Roll, 29 Edw. I."

P. 204, first line: *For* "Forestership-in-fee" *read* "Forestership-in-fee."

P. 208, note 1: *For* "Glos. I.P.M., Vol. IV." *read* "Glos. I.P.M., Vol. V."

P. 228, note 2: *For* "Rec. Roll And" *read* "Rec. Roll Aud."

P. 266, line 15 from top: *For* "Queen Victoria History of Gloucestershire" *read* "Victoria History of Gloucestershire."

P. 276, note: *For* "Vol. VI." *read* "Cap. VI."

P. 283, line 6 from bottom: *For* "Excerpta e Rotulio" *read* "Excerpta e Rotulis."

Page 287. BISLEY FONT.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

PART III.

(*a*) NORMAN.

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., F.S.A.

We may, indeed, be thankful that in spite of all the troubles and vicissitudes through which the English Church has passed she has handed down to us a large number of Norman fonts, both plain and richly ornamented. Buckinghamshire possesses more than seventy, Devonshire can still count ninety-three, and it will be found from these papers that Gloucestershire still contains a considerable number. It is probable that most of the highly-ornamented Norman fonts survived in the same way as the beautiful Norman doorways, being admired by churchmen of a later age, and incorporated in their new buildings. Large numbers of the plainer Norman fonts were, however, destroyed in the fifteenth century, when the fashion for making new fonts was in vogue. The city of Gloucester does not now possess a single Norman font, while Bristol has only one.[1] Yet we may be thankful that many of the country churches still retain their twelfth-century fonts.

The classification of fonts is no easy matter, and Viollet-le-Duc did not think it was possible to institute any real classification. They are best considered, however, under their external design, and the character of their supports if they possess any. As the prevalence of infant baptism increased the font took the place of the earlier *piscina* or

[1] St. Philip's.

tank, and for a time the font was in form a survival of the piscina, for many of the Norman stone and leaden fonts are of the unmounted tub-shaped pattern. So we may divide the fonts into those that are unmounted and those that are mounted on supports. Many of these unmounted fonts were large and low, this being necessary as long as adult baptism was largely practised, whereby the priest would have no difficulty in pouring water on the head of the neophyte. Many of these fonts which were originally placed on the floor were mounted on pedestals or shafts at a later period. In some cases this was done during the Middle Ages, but more frequently in modern times. It is quite probable that such fonts as those at Rendcombe, Ampney Crucis and Coates never had supports when they were originally made, while such a font as the tall cylinder at Siddington never required a pedestal.

Some fonts exist which may be looked upon as transitional in form between the unmounted and the mounted bowls. They must, however, be classed as monopods, for the support or pedestal is low. For such an example we turn at once to the remarkable font at Cherington. Here we find a tub-shaped bowl with a circular pedestal only twelve inches in height, standing on a low, massive, circular base, possessing a circumference of nearly ten and a half feet.

Mounted fonts on legs must be classified into those that have several legs and those that possess only one. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the polypod font is of frequent occurrence, but in our county the Norman fonts are usually of the monopod type.

In the history of fonts it is interesting to note the change by which the unmounted font gradually developed in the twelfth century into the monopod type. At first we find a simple stone, tub-shaped bowl with possibly one or two roll or cable mouldings encircling it midway.[1] Then the waist of the tub is contracted slightly, and we find a waist-

[1] Such fonts as Polimore (Devon) and Congresbury (Somerset).

band oranmented with interlacings[1] dividing the font into two parts, and thus we obtain a bipartite font.[2] The next stage may be seen in the Eastington font, where, though the waist-band is retained in the abnormal form of a shelf, scalloped below, a double base is added, so that at last the font consists of the three divisions—base, pedestal and bowl. Nearly all monopod fonts possess this tripartite form, and as a rule a column is imitated, and a roll moulding is found at the bottom and at the necking. Some fonts are imperfect, and either the roll moulding is absent or the necking is not defined. At Cherington we find the short form of pillar has no roll moulding at the bottom, but the one at the top is particularly large and heavy. Some of the beautiful rectangular bowls rest on circular pedestals with cables at the bottom and necking, and spreading circular bases resting on square or circular plinths. The Norman font at Dryham is unusual in appearance, for the attached shaft has been chamfered into an octagonal form at some later date, while the deep rectangular base has mouldings forming a triangular pattern connecting it to the faces of the octagon.

There are also two other methods of classification. The first divides mounted fonts into tabular and cup fonts. *Tabular* fonts are those where the bowl is hollowed out of a block of stone, and the under portion is flat, while *cup* fonts are those in which the form of the bowl appears in the under suface of the upper part of the font.[3] This latter is a peculiarity found chiefly in the Tournai series of fonts,[4]

[1] See Duckeswell (Devon) font. On the stoup at Kilpeck (Herefordshire) the waist is still more constricted, and we find the coil of a snake inserted like a heavy roll moulding. The head and tail hang down, and are carved on the base.

[2] The archaic font at Bere Regis (Dorset) and the one at Mevagissey (Cornwall) are bipartite fonts.

[3] See Bond's *Fonts and Font Covers*, p. 51.

[4] Winchester Cathedral; St. Michael's, Southampton; East Meon; St. Mary Bourne; Lincoln Minster; Thornton Curtis; St. Peter's, Ipswich.

and some in Cornwall.[1] The other method is based on the plan adopted for the upper slab in Norman bowls, which is found to be either rectangular like Westerleigh and Alveston, or circular like Bagendon and Ampney Crucis.

In considering the detail of the ornament on Norman fonts, Mr. Francis Bond observes that "in estimating the dates of such work, it must always be borne in mind that many of the motifs are taken from the ornament of the constructional members of the church, *i.e.* the capitals, doorways, piers, arches, etc., *but not till* those members have been in position for some considerable time; in fact, not till the design of them has had time to become thoroughly familiar to the eye and acceptable."[2] The string courses, the arcading of the aisle wall, whether internal or external, and the pier with its capital, base, plinth and "spur" are all reproduced as decorations of Norman fonts.

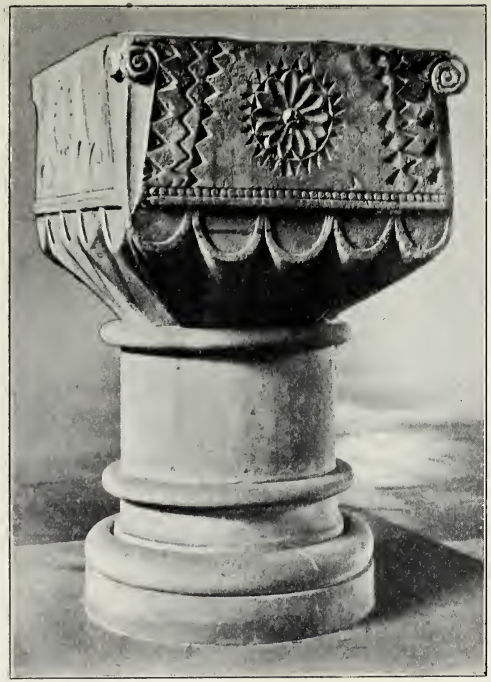
The string courses are usually semicircular rolls, like those on the fonts of St. Philip's (Bristol) and Westerleigh; but frequently the roll is carved with the torsades or cable ornament, as at Bisley and Siddington.

Arcading is frequently met with, and the artist found it was a beautiful enrichment of the bowl. It also enshrined statues of the apostles and saints. An instance of such an ornamented bowl is met with at Rendcombe. The cylindrical shafts of the arcade are grooved like the piers in the nave of Durham Cathedral, and this font is, therefore, not likely to be earlier than the twelfth century.

The scalloped caps or subdivided cushions form the whole of the bowls at Alveston, St. Philip's (Bristol), Dyrham and Almondsbury. The first two bowls have three scallops, the third has two scallops, and the fourth has four scallops. Before the middle of the twelfth century scallops had become so numerous that a whole capital frequently became a fringe of small cones. The spaces between the cones were filled

[1] Bodmin, St. Austell, etc.

[2] *Fonts and Font Covers*, p. 147.



Page 290. WESTERLEIGH FONT.

SIDDINGTON FONT.

up with inverted cones, and a very elaborate ornamentation was evolved out of the simple cushion. A beautiful example of this coniferous capital is found on the Westerleigh bowl, where five cones spring from the necking on each face.

Norman ornamentation is very beautiful, rich and diversified. *Interlacings* are found both in Normandy and in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On fonts they are used in considerable profusion. Simple diagonal tripartite interlacings, such as we find on the fine cylinder font at Siddington, is probably a derivative from Normandy, but the elaborate design on the bowl at Bisley may be regarded as traditional survivals of Anglo-Saxon or Celtic ornamentation. Similar patterns are found on fonts at Stone (Buckinghamshire), Stoke Canon (Devon), Preston (Suffolk), Toftrees (Norfolk), and other places. The *fret* or key ornament is rare, but it is seen on the band round the top of the bowl at Rendcombe.[1] The *pearl*[2] is found on bands and scrolls, and good examples are on the Bisley bowl, while the *pellet* or stud, and also the saw tooth, occur at Siddington and Westerleigh. Roses and rosettes are carved on the Westerleigh bowl,[3] and the beautiful symmetrical Greek *palmette, honeysuckle* or *anthemion*[4] is found in profusion on the Rendcombe font. *Scrolls or rinceaux*[5] were largely used in Norman decorative work, and are importations of Roman leaf scrolls, chiefly acanthus through Normandy. An example may be seen on a band

[1] The fret is also found on the band round the top of the bowl in Hereford Cathedral. It is a very ancient ornament common in Arabia, China, South America and also found in Greek, Roman and Byzantine work.

[2] The *pearl* is said to be reminiscent of the ornament (dots of ink) in the Irish missals. It is common in Berri, Burgundy and Poitou. It is also found in Scandinavian wood-carving.

[3] Roses are frequently found in the "lacunaria" or Roman ceilings, and in Corinthian capitals.

[4] Common in Greek and Roman work, especially in Corinthian and composite capitals.

[5] Common in Greek, Roman and Byzantine work.

above the diagonal interlacings on the cylindrical font at Siddington. Although the *chevron* [1] or zigzag ornamentation is found sparingly in the eleventh century, it is, however, used in great profusion as a decoration on outer doorways and windows in the twelfth century. It is a remarkable fact that it is rarely met with on Norman fonts, but we find it cut on the bowl at Westerleigh, and on one of the ornamented shafts of the arcading round the bowl at Rendcombe. The *saw-tooth* [2] is also found on the Westerleigh font and the *diamond* at Rendcombe.

The ornamentation on the Westerleigh font is partly incised and partly in very low relief. Some of the ornament resembles oak leaves and possibly curved twigs, while others may have been copied from scroll patterns such as may still be seen on rare specimens of twelfth-century work. [3] A remarkable feature on this font is a well-developed *ball-flower* [4] found in the centre of a large and beautiful rose, which adorns one of the faces. This ornament is usually found in the first part of the fourteenth century, but occasionally it is met with in late Norman work side by side with the pellet, as on the Westerleigh font. The *ball-flower* is supposed by some to be the trollius or globe-flower; others derive it from the hawk's bell, and even the horse-bell has been suggested, in that the thong as well as the bell is sometimes represented. [5]

The figure-sculpture on the Norman fonts of the twelfth century is rich and diversified, although frequently it is somewhat archaic in character. It shows how churchmen of that age were fond of adorning their fonts with subjects

[1] The *chevron* is almost an exact reproduction of devices found on ancient Roman stones.

[2] At first the teeth are obtuse, later they form an acute angle.

[3] An example may be seen on a twelfth-century coffer at Brampton, Northamptonshire.

[4] *The ball-flower* is a globular flower half opened, and showing within a small round ball.

[5] See Bond's *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 83.

which are largely biblical. On the bowl at Rendcombe are twelve figures, 1 ft. 4 in. in height. Each is represented with a beard, bare-headed, and clad in a mantle fastened with a morse. Seven hold closed books, and two carry open books, while all are rudely sculptured in relief of about one inch in depth. The pedestal of the beautiful and highly-decorated font at Bisley is enircled at the top with a broad band of basket-work, and beneath it are sculptured two scenes. The first represents our Lord as the Good Shepherd. He is dressed in a long gown, a halo encircles His head, His right hand holds a staff, and He carries a lamb in His left. The Good Shepherd is leading His flock, and behind is a spreading tree. The other depicts three figures hauling in their net. Each has a halo, two are clothed, and one is nearly nude. A large fish is swimming in the water. It is evident that the figures represent the apostles drawing in the net. Christ had said to His apostles after the miraculous draught of fishes, "Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men," and He had spoken of the Church under the figure of the draw-net full of fish, good and bad.[1] In the earliest Christian hymn[2] known to us Christ is addressed as :—

> "Fisher of men, the Blest,
> Out of the world's unrest,
> Out of sin's troubled sea,
> Taking us, Lord, to Thee.
> * * * *
> With choicest fish good store
> Drawing the net to shore."

In classical art hardly any subject was more common than scenes of fishing, which were employed in a purely decorative manner. Similar scenes repeated in Christian art were undoubtedly regarded as symbolical. The common fisherman stood for the apostolic fisher of men, for the fish

[1] St. Matt. xiii. 48, *cf.* Jer. xvi. 16; Martigny, *Pêcheur*, and *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, i. 674.

[2] Given by Clement of Alexandria at the end of his *Pædagogus*.

represented not only Christ, but His disciples as well.[1] Tertullian says: "We little fish, after the image of our Ichthus Jesus Christ, are born in the water, nor otherwise than swimming in the water are we safe."[2]

Two fishes are carved on the bottom of the bowl of this remarkable font.[3] The fish was sculptured at an early date on Christian monuments, and is emblematic of Christ. From the quotation we have taken from the writings of Tertullian we have seen that the fish also symbolised baptism, and we have to read this meaning into the sculpture of the fishermen and the fish at the bottom of the bowl of the Bisley font.

Speaking of the multitude who were fed with the five loaves and the two fishes, Paulinus of Nola says of Christ that "He Himself is the true bread and the fish of living water."[4] The fish as a symbol of the Sacrament of Baptism has not the warrant of Holy Scripture, but we have the testimony that the early Christian Church regarded it as such, for Orientius, writing in A.D. 450 says: "*Piscis natus aquis, auctor baptismatis ipse est.*"[5] The miracle of the fish with the tribute money mentioned by St. Matthew was made the type of Christ offering Himself a sacrifice to pay for the sins of the world, while in the story of the fish caught by Tobias in the Tigris to deliver Sara from the demon,[6] and to give light to his father, was seen Christ, who conquered the devil, and was the Light of the World.

The emblem of a fish on English fonts[7] is so rare that we

[1] See Lowrie's *Christian Art and Archæology*, p. 233.

[2] It is certain that the symbol owed its popularity chiefly to the famous acrostic which formed the Greek word for fish. The first writer who points out this fact is Optatus of Milevis, about A.D. 384.

[3] One is 16 inches and the other 10 inches in length.

[4] *Panis ipse verus et aquæ vivæ piscis Christus.*

[5] See Martigny's *Dict.*, p. 656.

[6] Tobit, vi.

[7] The Norman font at Castle Froome, Herefordshire, shows four fish swimming in the water.

have ventured to refer to the symbolism at some length, and it is therefore a matter for thankfulness that the carving on the Bisley font has been so well preserved, for there is a tradition that the font was removed from the church about 1770, and for some seventy years it was placed as a lid to the so-called "bone-house" in the churchyard. It is quite probable that this tradition is correct, as a comparatively modern font was discovered in the summer of 1909 under the floor of the church, which may have done duty while the ancient font was outside.

Many churches have had more than one font, and with a little trouble some of these neglected and discarded bowls may be discovered. At first they may have found a home in the churchyard, but later on they would be turned to a domestic use, for the men of each age cared little for the work of their predecessors if it were rude in character or did not suit their taste. The case of Ampney Crucis is therefore of some interest. The cylindrical Norman bowl now rests on the inverted octagonal bowl made fifty years ago, which was an exact *replica* of a former octagonal bowl. This earlier bowl has now been recovered and is preserved in the church, for the bottom has been removed, and it has done duty as a cover for a draw-well for more than half a century. It is probable that if the rockeries and gardens of the neighbouring houses and the farms and cottages around were carefully searched, many of our ancient and discarded fonts might be again recovered and placed in our country churches.

The origin of the font-cover is well known. It was the custom in English churches to allow the hallowed water to remain in the font for a considerable time. This water was of value for black magic, and was consequently stolen. To prevent this Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1236 ordered that the fonts were to be kept locked under seal because the hallowed water was used in magic.[1]

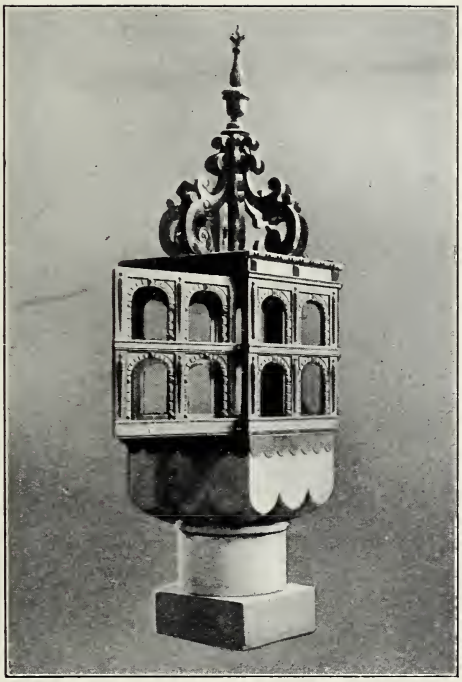
[1] It was ordered that the font "*decenter co-operiator*"; also that "*fontes baptismales sub sera clausi teneantur proper sortilegia.*" Peacock's *English Church Furniture* quotes the direction *in extenso*.

Sixteen years earlier the Bishop of Durham had given the same directions. The parish had to provide both font and cover, and *fontem cum secura* is included among the furniture which the parishioners must provide in 1305 in the Diocese of Winchester. In a few cases the cover, bar and staples remain,[1] but far more frequently we see the holes where they have been inserted or new stonework filling up the damage done by their removal. Long after the Reformation inquiries were frequently made to the churchwardens as to whether their font had "a decent covering."[2] Bishop Cosin asks, "Whether have you a font of stone, *with a comely cover*, set in the ancient usual place." Examples of some of these Jacobean font-covers remain, and in 1623 Andrew Townsend gave one to the Church of St. Philip, Bristol. This fine cover is arranged in two openwork tiers, composed of two round-headed arches in each tier, with an ornamented cornice.[3] Eight scrolls are placed on the roof, and these are attached to a central shaft holding an urn with a lid composed of foliage surmounted by a finial. The cover is attached to the top of the rectangular bowl, and one side forms a door whereby access is obtained when it is required to administer the rite of baptism.

[1] At Wickenby, Lincolnshire, the original fastenings remain, and the staples may be found at Hunmanby (Yorkshire), West Stoke (Sussex), and other places, while the bar remains at Farcett (Huntingdonshire).

[2] Articles to be inquired of within the Diocese of Norwich, 1618; ditto in the archdeaconry of Norwich, 1638; ditto in the Diocese of Exeter, 1638; ditto in the Diocese of Durham, 1662. The churchwardens of Stratton, Cornwall, paid "for a loke to the vonte vjd," in 1558; while in 1608 "a covering to the font" is given among other requisities at Alnwick.

[3] The lower arches are 10 in. by 8 in, the upper ones are 9 in. by 8 in. The height is 2 ft. 7½ n. to the top of the cornice, and it is more than double that elevation to the summit of the finial surmounting the central shaft on the roof.



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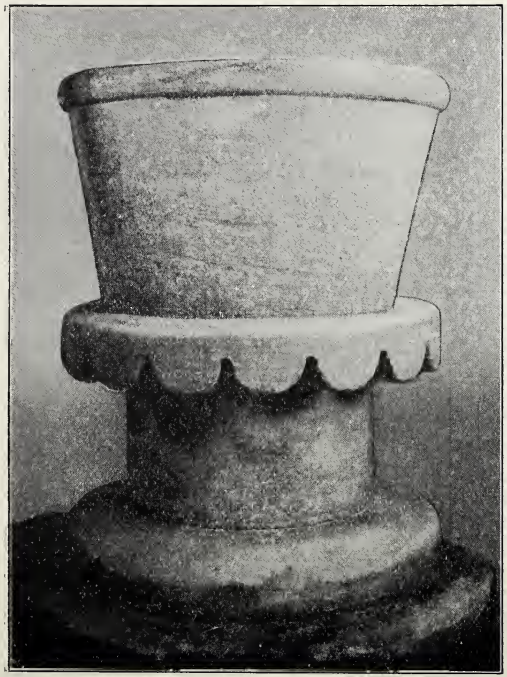
ST. PHILIP'S FONT, BRISTOL.



Page 297. EASTINGTON FONT.

DYRHAM FONT.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

(*a*) Norman.

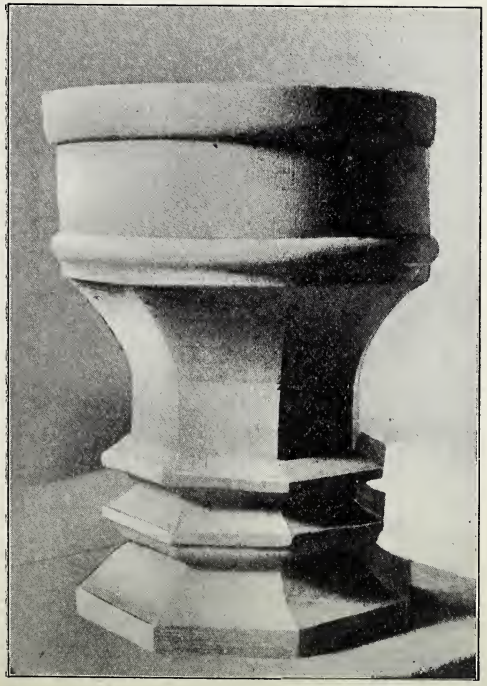
Rectangular Bowls.

C=Circumference. H=Height. D=Depth. R=Rim. Diameter=Diam. Exterior=Ext. Interior=Int.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	References.	Remarks.
Almondsbury (St. Mary the Virgin).	Plain scalloped capital (4 scallops each face), 1 ft. 9½ in. by 1 ft. 9½ in. R=2 in. D. Ext.=12¾ in., Int.=9¼ in.	Cylinder: H=13 in., C=4 ft. 3 in. Circular base: H=4 in., C=5 ft. 6 in. Rectangular plinth, 1 ft. 9½ in. by 1 ft. 9½ in. by 5¾ in.	....	The holes made by the removal of the lock and hinge have been carefully repaired. Font placed in west end of north aisle.
Alveston (St. Helen).	Plain scalloped capital (3 scallops each face), 2 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. R=4 in. D. Ext.=1 ft. 4 in., Int.=11 in.	Cylinder: H=1 ft. 2 in., C=4 ft. 11 in. Circular base (moulded): C=6 ft. D=6 in. Rectangular plinth, 2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 3½ in.	Lyson's *Glouc. Ant.* (illustrated) Plate lxii.; Bond's *Fonts*, p. 151.	Font removed from old church in 1885, and placed at west end of nave in new church.

Rectangular Bowls (continued).

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
BRISTOL (St. Philip).	Plain scalloped capital (3 scallops each face), 2 ft. 3½ in. by 2 ft. 3½ in. R—4 in. D. Ext.=1ft. 2in., Int.=11 in. Narrow quirk at corners between the scallops.	Cylinder: H=11 in., C=5 ft. 2 in., roll at necking. Rectangular plinth, 1 ft. 9½ in. by 1 ft 9½ in. by 8½ in.	Taylor's *Bristol Past and Present*, ii. 234; Willis's *Ecclesia Bristoliana;* Harvey's *Bristol*, p. 207; Paley's *Fonts* (illustrated); Bond's *Fonts*, pp. 151, 289 (illustrated), 311.	The paint has been scraped off the font, and it now presents a very modern appearance. The fine Jacobean cover dates from 1623, and was given by Andrew Townsend.
DYRHAM (St. Peter).	Plain scalloped capital (2 scallops each face), 2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. R=3 in. D. Ext.=1 ft. 3½ in. Int.=10 in.	Octagon: each face 1 ft. 4 in. by 7 in. Rectangular base, 1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 12½ in. The upper part of the attached shaft has been chamfered down at some later date into an octagonal form resting on a rectangular base with mouldings corresponding to the faces of the octagon.	Bond's *Fonts*, p. 151.	Font stands at west end of nave.



Page 299. COATES FONT.

AMPNEY CRUCIS FONT.

WESTERLEIGH St. James the Great).	Ornamented coniferous scalloped capital, 1 ft. 11½ in. by 1 ft. 11½ in. R=2½ in. D. Ext.=2 ft. 3 in., Int.=9 in. Ornament consists of low relief geometrical patterns, leaves, roses, fret, saw, pellet and chevron. The corners are cut away, leaving two scrolls at the top. In centre of one large rose is a single ball-flower.	Cylinder (modern) with base.	Paley's *Fonts* (illustrated); Willis's *Ecclesia Bristoliana*.	This font is late Norman, as oak leaves and a ball-flower are found in the ornamentation. The ball-flower and the pellet are met with occasionally in late twelfth century work.

Cylindrical Bowls.

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
AMPNEY CRUCIS (Holy Rood).	Plain cylinder with roll at top: C=6 ft. 7 in.; D. Ext.=1 ft. 4 in., Int.=10 in. Diam., 1 ft. 8 in.	Inverted plain octagonal bowl, made about 50 years ago: H=1 ft. 10 in. Each face=1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft.	*Bristol and Glouc. Trans.*, ii. 23.	The inverted bowl now used for pedestal replaced an earlier octagonal bowl which had the bottom removed, and was used as a well-cover. It has now been recovered, and is placed in the church for preservation.
BAGENDON (St. Margaret's).	Plain cylinder, with band round top and chamfered at bottom. C=5 ft. 11½ in.; D. Ext.=1 ft. 4 in. Int. =11 in.; Diam.—1 ft. 6½ in.	Cylinder: C=4 ft. 1½ in; H=1 ft. 4 in.; Base (moulded), H=8 in.	....	This bowl is very similar to the one at Ampney Crucis.

BISLEY (All Saints').	Ornamented with geometrical patterns, basket-work on rim and cable at bottom. C (top)=7 ft. 6 in.; (bottom)=6 ft. 3½ in. D. Ext.=1 ft. 1 in. Int.=10 in.; diam.=1 ft. 9 in. Two fishes are carved in relief at the bottom of the bowl. One is 1 ft. 6 in., and the other 10 in. in length.	Cylinder: C=4 ft. 6 in.; H=1 ft. 5 in. Between a broad band of basket-work at top and a cable at bottom, is sculptured in relief the Saviour as the Good Shepherd (8 in.), carrying a lamb, and followed by the flock, and the apostles (8 in.) drawing in a net. The base is modern.	....	This font was removed from the church in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and for about 70 years it was placed on the top of the so-called "bone house" in the churchyard. The font, which is supposed to have done duty during this period was found under the floor of the church in the summer of 1909.
CHERINGTON (St. Nicholas).	Tub with plain band (1½ in.) at top: C (top)=8 ft. 1 in., (bottom)=6 ft. 2 in., D Ext.=1 ft. 4 in., Int.=12¾ in.; Diam.=2 ft. 1 in.	Circular: C=7 ft. 10½ in., D=10½ in., roll at top (3½ in.). Circular plinth: C=10 ft. 4½ in., D=8 in.	....	This font may be considered as a tub-shaped bowl with base and plinth; or the base may be considered as a low pedestal with roll at necking placed in a circular base.

Cylindrical Bowls (continued),

	BOWL.	PEDESTAL.	REFERENCES.	REMARKS.
COATES (St. Matthew's).	Cylinder with broad band ($3\frac{1}{2}$ in.) at top and roll at bottom. C=7 ft $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. D. Ext. =1 ft. 10 in. to bottom of chamfer, Int. =1 ft. 1 in. The lower part of bowl has an octagonal chamfer made at the later date. Diam.=1 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.	Octagon: Each face= 5 in. by 7 in. Base, H=$12\frac{1}{2}$ in., and possesses two deep octagonal mouldings. Chamfered octagonal plinth. Each face= 1 ft. 3 in. by 6 in.	Lyson's *Glouc. Ant.* Plate lxii.; Bond's *Fonts*, p. 50.	Lower part of bowl probably champered down to an octagon to meet a new octagonal pedestal made at some later date. It is quite probable that the original bowl rested on the floor.
EASTINGTON (St. Michael and All Angels).	Plain tub with band ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) at top: C (top) = 7 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., (bottom)=5ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$in., D. Ext.=1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., Int.=$12\frac{1}{2}$in., Diam.= 1 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.	Cylinder with broad shelf (4 in.) of fifteen symmetrically carved scallops, having C= 7 ft. 7 in., H=$9\frac{3}{4}$ in., C=4 ft. 11 in., Circular base, 7 ft. 7 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Circular plinth, 9 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in.	Bond's *Fonts*, p. 47; (illustrated p. 49).	This font is important in the development of the monopod font, as the waistband is retained in an abnormal form of a shelf, and a double base is added.

CHERINGTON FONT.

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RENDCOMBE FONT.

RENDCOMBE (St. Peter's).	Ornamented with fret band at top and honeysuckle band at bottom, and adorned with 12 arcades with ornamented shafts, capitals and bases, containing eleven figures of the apostles and an uncarved one in the place for Judas. C (top)=9 ft. 2½ in., (bottom)=7 ft. 6½ in. D. Ext.=1 ft. 11 in., Int.=11 in. Diam.= 2 ft. 4 in.	Cylinder: C=5 ft. 11 in., H=6 in., with bevelled base (4 in.). Plinth (2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 5 in.).	Lyson's *Glouc. Ant.*, Plate lxii.	The fret ornament on this bowl is rarely met with on Norman fonts. It is found, however, on the font in Hereford Cathedral. This is not the same font which is illustrated in Lyson's *Glouc. Ant.*, Plate lxii.
SIDDINGTON (St. Peter).	A tall cylinder, slightly flattened on one side: H=3 ft. 7 in., C=6 ft. 11 in. R=2 in. D. Int.=13½ in. Between herring-bone band and acanthus scroll at top and a cable and saw pattern at bottom are diagonally interlaced tripartite bands, bearing raised cubes between the interlacings, forming a most effective adornment.	Circular base: C=7 ft. 4 in., H=7 in. Modern rectangular plinth.	Lyson's *Glouc. Ant.*, Plate lxii.	The acanthus scroll on this font is an importation of Roman leaf scroll brought through Normandy. Lyson's illustration shows the font as too wide and not deep enough.

THE OWNERS OF THE GREAT HOUSE, HENBURY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

BEING A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BRISTOL MEMBERS OF THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ON DECEMBER 14TH, 1910.

By LEWIS J. UPTON WAY, F.S.A.

When John Barlow, the last Dean of Westbury-on-Trym, surrendered the College there to King Henry the VIIIth in 1544, the possessions and rights formerly enjoyed by its canons were granted by that monarch "To our beloved and faithful counsellor Sir Ralph Sadleir, Kt., in consideration of the true fidelity and acceptable obedience he hath hitherto shewn to us, as well as in consideration of a thousand marks." This grant, written on two skins of parchment measuring 22 inches by 32, is ornamented with elaborate scroll work, surrounding a portrait of Henry, clad in royal purple, seated beneath a canopy, in the midst of a group of courtiers. Its terms are comprehensive, bestowing on Sir Ralph and Elena his wife, besides the other estates of the College, "All and singular the messuages, lands, tenements, tithes, oblations, pensions, portions, emoluments, surrenders, services, profits and advantages with their appurtenances in Westbury, Henbury, Laurence Weston, and Aust."

Having dispossessed the canons, Sir Ralph converted their beautiful buildings into a country seat, which continued in his possession, and in that of his descendants, until the year 1675. The College itself remained intact up to the Civil Wars: its destruction lies at the door of Prince Rupert, who, fearing lest the enemy might take it and hold it as a position of strength, burnt it to the ground in July, 1643. Beyond a

tower and handsome gateway, nothing of its bygone glory now remains.

After King Henry's death, his successor, Edward VI, who had obtained in 1547 from Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester, in exchange for other lands, the Manor and Hundred of Henbury, with the advowson of the Church and the Manor of Stoke Bishop, added these to a renewal of the late king's grant to Sir Ralph. At the same time Sir Ralph relinquished the tithes of Henbury to the Crown.

Sir Ralph Sadleir, born at Hackney in 1507, owed his prosperity to the influence of Henry's powerful minister, Cromwell, by whose aid he successfully steered his course through life in days when no man's head grew safe upon his shoulders, rising step by step until he eventually became the faithful servant and eager instrument of the king in plundering the religious houses. His royal master heaped manor after manor upon him by way of reward, until by reason of the wealth thus accumulated he was reputed the richest commoner in all England.

During the times of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth he was a Privy Councillor, wisely resigning that distinction while Mary and Philip reigned. King Henry named him in his will one of the regents of the kingdom during his son's minority. At various times he held the posts of Master of the Grand Wardrobe, Secretary of State, Ambassador to Scotland, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was sometime guardian of the hapless Mary, Queen of Scots.

Living to the age of 86, he died in 1587, and lies buried at Standon, his principal seat in Hertfordshire.

The Westbury and Henbury lands and rights he left to his son, Sir Thomas Sadleir, who by his second marriage left a son, Ralph, and a daughter, Gertrude, married to Sir Walter Aston, Bart., of Tixall, in Staffordshire, afterwards created Baron Aston of Forfar.

Sir Thomas Sadleir died in 1606, and was succeeded by his son Ralph, who though married died childless in 1660, when

the estates went to his sister, Lady Aston, who in turn passed them on to her son Walter, second Lord Aston of Forfar, a Roman Catholic who, perhaps, fearing to hold Church property, began the process of alienation by selling a house and lands in Henbury to Mr. George Morse, which process he completed when, in 1675, three years before his death, he disposed of the whole estate of his ancestors in the neighbourhood to two dealers in land—Thomas Yate, of Gray's Inn, and Gregory Gearing, of Denchworth, in Berkshire—who in their capacity as dealers began to sell the same in small lots to the neighbours.

We are more especially concerned with the fate of the Henbury part of the estate, and in order to trace from as early a date as possible the history of the principal residence there, known as the "Great House," which sprang into being towards the end of the seventeenth and so completely disappeared in the early part of the nineteenth century, must turn to 1629, when from the first of a series of deeds at Ashton Court we learn that on

"October 1st, 1629, the Right Honble. Rafe Sadleir leased for lives to Elizabeth Atwoode, relict of Robert Atwoode alias Woode, and to George Morse of Tockington in Alveston, a farm in Henbury salt marshe, consisting of a messuage, barns, stables, outhouses, garden, orchard, and yard, in all one acre and a half, Goulsbury one and a half acres, Little Mead four acres, Broadland's Furlong two and a half acres, the two Stile Acres, ten acres, Ison's Hill, ten acres, certain meadows in Abeltram, three acres and one acre in Commonfield, of which the said Elizabeth was seized at the death of her husbande according to the custom of the manor of Henbury."

From a receipt on the back of this deed we gather the nature of the relationship about to exist between George Morse and the widow Atwoode.

"Memorandum. That the 30th daie of Marche A.D. 1630 and in the sixth year of the raigne of King Charles, the within named Elizabeth Atwoode and George Morse *now her husbande*

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THE MANOR HOUSE (EDWARD CAPELL'S).

paid unto the receaver of Rafe Sadleir, Esq., the sum of £50 lawful English money which is the half sum named in the consideration of their deede. I say receaved to the use of the said Rafe Sadleir by me, Richard Chamberlain."

George Morse is said to have been son of a certain William Morse. He bore for arms: "Argent two bars sable, charged with 3 cross crosslets, 2 and 1 or; in chief 3 escallop shells." Elizabeth, his wife, widow of Robert Atwoode, was daughter of Richard Penfold, of Minchinhampton. The Henbury register supplies the following detail: "Robert Atwoode, yeoman, was buried May 21st, 1629."

Having in accordance with the above deed secured a house with some thirty-three acres of land in Henbury for a term of years, and incidentally a wife, George Morse rested content for twenty-three years, when under date

November 24th, 1653, I find a deed by which Ralph Sadleir leases to him for lives the messuage and half yard lands in Henbury. This is, perhaps, a renewal of the former grant. Next on

October 1st, 1661, Ralph Sadleir leases to him for lives certain grounds called "The Gastons," eighteen acres, and two parrocks adjoining, four acres. This is in addition to his original holding. Lastly, on

October 23rd, 1665, Walter, 2nd Lord Aston of Forfar, agrees to sell to him all the above premises.

George Morse's house stood on a piece of ground now an orchard, on the right-hand side of the main road which runs from Bristol through Henbury, at its junction with the cross-road leading from Henbury Church to Cribbs Causeway and Compton Greenfield (this latter road in the memory of my grandmother was a grass-grown lane). Up to the present time all who have given a thought to the history of Henbury have been under the impression that it was the original manor house. This supposition can be no longer entertained, since I have found another series of deeds dealing with a separate estate explicitly styled the manor. The first reads thus:

"*October 7th*, 1653. Ralph Sadleir leased the Capital messuage or Scite of the Manor house to Edward Capell, merchant of Bristol, for lives together with the Court Hay, the Furlongs with a little Ragge and the Demesne lands belonging unto the College of Westbury, the Four Acres, two acres by Jordan's Grove, a Ragge upon the knoll by Pen Park, two acres at Burywall, Greenhill alias Shepherd's Close, the land late belonging unto John Watts, his house now the school house, the Two Furlongs, two acres adjoining Wamphill and Blaze Hill with common for thirty sheep."

So we learn that in 1653 Edward Capell, and not George Morse, held possession of the manor house of Henbury, the history of which as given by the Ashton papers we are able to trace from owner to owner.

October 1st, 1660, Ralph Sadleir leased the above for a further term of 21 years to Edward Capell.

June 6th, 1665, Edward Capell granted to his son Francis the above during the term he held it for.

May 24th, 1666, Edward Capell further assigns the above for the term he holds it for to Sir Henry Creswick and Joseph Creswick.

February 22nd, 1670, Joseph Creswick and Francis Capell sell the above for the term they hold it for to Edward Capell, W. Peachy, and Gerrard Lloyd.

December 14th, 1682, Edward Capell assigns the above for the above term to Sarah Knight for the better securing to her of sums of money borrowed.

September 30th, 1684, Sarah Knight makes over the same premises for the above term to her daughter, Sarah Knight.

October 11th, 1687, Mr. Creswick and Mr. Capell assign the above premises for the above term to Sir Samuel Astry for £326.

July 10th, 1694, Elias Rich and Sarah, his wife (formerly Sarah Knight) assign to Mr. Rose in trust for Sir Samuel Astry the above premises for the above term for £126.

It afterwards became the property of Sir Samuel Astry by purchase outright from Yate and Gearing or their heirs, as later on we find it in the possession of his grandson.

The parish register tells us that "Edward Capell, gent., was buried on June 6th, 1681," so that the Edward Capell who assigns the manor house in 1682 to Sarah Knight is probably his son.

His monument, with Latin inscription wherein he is described as "late citizen and merchant of Bristol," still exists in Henbury Church. He bore for arms: "Chequy, or and azure, on a fesse gules, 3 lozenges argent."

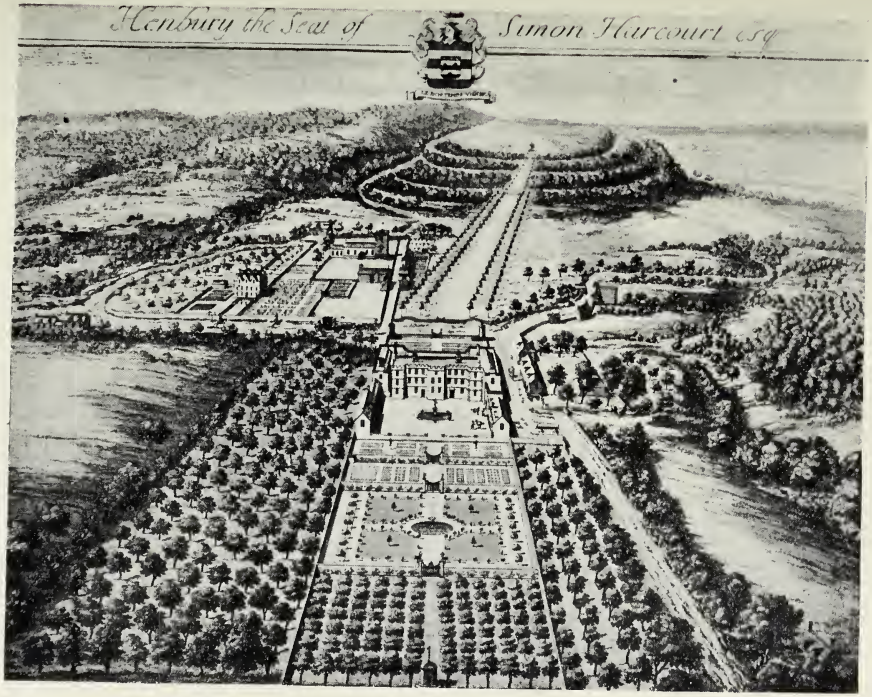
I am anxious to determine the precise situation of the house which Ralph Sadleir in 1653 so explicitly calls the manor house. We have seen that it could not have been George Morse's house, afterwards known as the Great House, Henbury Awdelett, now known as the Manor House —the picturesque mansion of the Sampson family was not built till 1688, which date has been found carved within it. Since the many less important houses which exist in and around Henbury—with the exception of Westmoreland Farm, then belonging to the Fane family—were not dreamt of, we are forced to turn our attention to the only one of any importance left, namely the old house which stood very close to where Blaise Castle stands at present. All indications point to this having been Edward Capell's house, and therefore the original manor. In default of any evidence to the contrary, I intend to assume that it was so.

Let us now glance at the domestic history of the Morse family. We have already seen that in 1630 George Morse married Elizabeth, widow of Robert Atwoode, of Henbury. This union was blest with but one child, a daughter, named Elizabeth after her mother. Her baptism is not recorded in the register, nor do we know anything of her early years. Being an only child and her parents' sole heiress, she was a prize in the matrimonial market, for her father, in addition

to the estate we have been considering, owned property which brought him in between four and five hundred a year, no mean fortune in those days.

George Morse left by his will, dated August 15th, 1688, half his rents to his widow and half to his daughter, the whole after his widow's death to pass to his daughter and her heirs. His name does not appear in the register amongst the burials, nor can Henbury show his tomb. He doubtless died and was buried away from home. His daughter married a barrister, Mr. Samuel Astry, a member of Lincoln's Inn and a rising man in his profession. Born in 1632, second son of Luke Astry and grandson of George Astry, of Eaton Soccon, in Bedfordshire, Samuel was sixth in descent from Sir Ralph Astry, Lord Mayor of London in 1493. The Astry arms are: "Barry wavy of six arg. and az., on a chief gules 3 bezants with a crescent for difference."

Of the cause that first brought him to this neighbourhood we are ignorant, and can only surmise that professional business was the reason of his coming to Bristol, and that while there he heard of a bargain in land to be sold in the parish of Henbury, for it is certain that in the year 1662 he purchased the manor of Aust from John Browning, Esq. Presumably from the time of acquiring this property forward to the time of his marriage, he paid occasional visits to Henbury, during the course of which he became acquainted with the fair Elizabeth, and proceeded to fall in love, either with the charms of her person or the depth of her pocket. His suit meeting with no opposition from the lady's father prospered, and they were duly married in 1667. History tells us very little of Mr. Astry's career as a barrister. He was evidently a capable and learned exponent of the law, for in 1677 his abilities were rewarded with the gift of the lucrative and important post of Clerk of the Crown in the Court of King's Bench, which he continued to hold for twenty-seven years, in fact, up to the day of his death. We have no evidence to tell us in what year he commenced to



Page 310. NORTH FRONT OF THE GREAT HOUSE.

build the Great House—whether he waited for his father-in-law's death, or began it in his lifetime is a matter of opinion. I have been asked the question why should not George Morse have built the house and have left it to his daughter. To that I have two answers: First, it was by far too large a residence for a man whose income was in the neighbourhood of £500 per annum; secondly, Sir Samuel's daughter, speaking of it in her will, expressly calls it her father's seat, whereas had George Morse built it she would have called it her grandfather's seat. I am therefore of opinion that Mr. Astry, waiting until his father-in-law was dead, pulled down the old and constructed the new house upon the same site. I hoped that the parish rate-books would have thrown some light upon the question, but upon examining them found none earlier than 1714. Two views of Henbury as it appeared to the eyes of J. Kip are contained in Sir Robert Atkyn's *History of Gloucestershire*, published in 1712. These give us the idea of a considerable country house with appropriate surroundings, stables, outbuildings, gardens and orchards. The gardens—laid out in the stiff style so popular in the seventeenth century, adorned with fountains, clipped hedges and straight walks — were of some size: handsome wrought-iron gates, evidence of good taste on the part of the builder or his architect, gave access to and divided them one from another. The house faced south towards Henbury Awdelett and the church. On the north it was bounded by a courtyard and the gardens, on the east by a large orchard, on the west by the Compton Road, across which appeared a row of cottages or farm buildings, where Henbury Lodge stands to-day. Two curious erections shaped like pepper-boxes flanked the entrance gate. These were probably the best and worst summer houses. From the gate ran a great double avenue of elms, terminating in a third summer house built on the slope of Blaise Hill. Two large gates cut off the farther end of the avenue, the course of which can still be traced by means

of a veteran tree surviving here and there. Seven were sacrificed when Blaise Castle house was built.

In course of time Mr. Astry became a large landowner.

On October 19th, 1675, Yate and Gearing sold to him in fee for £400 all those seven fields in Henbury called the "Dyet Grounds," forty-five acres, and the "Gastons," five acres. Yate's receipt for the money appears on the back of this deed.

In 1680 he bought the remainder of the Sadleir-Aston estate from Yate and Gearing. The Manor and Hundred of Henbury, with the advowson of the church, the Manor of Westbury and Stoke Bishop, but not the site of Westbury College. Included in this purchase was the Lordship of Durdham Down. At various times he bought the Manor of Westerleigh and lands in Iron Acton and Pucklechurch. At Westerleigh he opened up coal mines, the profits of which largely augmented his income. They are worked up to the present day.

On December 8th, 1683, he was knighted by King Charles II at Whitehall.

On March 15th, 1687–8, Henry, Duke of Beaufort, Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, appointed him Deputy-Lieutenant of the county. He took the oath before Christopher Cole, a Justice of the Peace, resident in the locality (Charlton).

In 1688 he was present in his official capacity as Clerk of the Crown at the trial and acquittal of the seven bishops.

Sir Samuel and Lady Astry had two sons and four daughters, who, with the exception of one by name Anne, were baptised at Henbury. I copy the entries relating to them from the register:

1. Elizabeth Astry, daughter of Samuel Astry and Elizabeth his wife, baptised September 30th, 1669.
2. Diana Astry, daughter of Samuel Astry, Esq., baptised January 2nd, 1670–1.

3. Luke Astry, sonne of Samuel Astry, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, baptised June 22nd, 1673.
4. St. John, sonne of Samuel Astry and Elizabeth his wife, baptised June 22nd, 1675.
5. Anne (baptised elsewhere).
6. Arabella, daughter of Sir Samuel and the Lady Elizabeth Astry, baptised July 24th, 1684.

Of this family, the daughters all married well, while the sons died bachelors. I will deal with the daughters and their marriages first. Anne Astry found a husband in the person of Mr. Thomas Chester, of Knole, co. Gloucester. The register says: "Thomas Chester, Esq., and Madum Anne Austry were married March 16th, 1692." We know nothing of this lady beyond the fact that she had seven children, died in giving birth to the last, and was buried at Almondsbury on August 6th, 1703. Her husband did not long survive her, being buried in the same vault on February 26th, 1704–5.

The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, next left the paternal roof, her choice falling on a Somersetshire baronet, Sir John Smyth of Long Ashton, who was doubly connected with Henbury, first as owner of an estate in the parish called Elmington, which his family had held since 1586; secondly, through his relationship to the owners of Kingsweston, which up to the year 1680 had been the seat of Sir Humphrey Hook, whose wife, Florence, daughter of Thomas Smyth, of Long Ashton, was aunt to Sir John. After Sir Humphrey's death, Kingsweston was sold by his executors to Sir Robert Southwell. The register tells us that Sir John Smyth, of Ashton, and Madum Elizabeth Astray were married in the parish church of Henbury on August 11th, 1692. No marriage could have turned out more happily. Sir John, mindful of his duties as a country gentleman, took his share in regulating the affairs of his county, neglecting neither politics nor sport. His wife, in the course of time mother of a large family, found ample occupation in the care of her children and the management of a great household.

Together they spent twenty-three happy, uneventful years, which came all too soon to a close with the death of Lady Smyth in 1715. Her widower, heartbroken at his loss, has left inscribed in the family Bible the following most touching testimonial of his affection for his wife: "Sept. 15th, 1715. It pleased God out of His infinite mercy to take to Himself my most dear wife after a painful sickness that lasted her five months. She was one of the very best of wives, the best of mothers, the best of friends, and the best of Christians. She has left me and her eight children behind her, who can never condole enough the loss of such a wife and such a mother, and one that left such a bright example of piety and vertue, and everything that 's praiseworthy for us to follow."

The two younger daughters did not find husbands till after their father's death. Diana was married at Lincoln's Inn Chapel in London on December 17th, 1708, to Richard Orlebar, Esq., of Hinwick, in Bedfordshire. She was of a festive turn of mind; the menus of several dinner parties at which she was present have come down to us, copied by her, no doubt, for future use. She died on September 4th, 1716, leaving several children, and is buried at Puddington, in Bedfordshire.

Arabella, youngest of the sisters by many years, made the last and most brilliant match. She was married, by special licence dated July 9th, 1715, to Charles William Howard, Lord Walden, afterwards seventh Earl of Suffolk.

Having briefly outlined the history of the four daughters, I must now turn to that of the two sons, Luke and St. John. Their lives, I regret to say, were far different—extravagant, idle, intemperate and vicious, they might well, like the offspring of the high priest of old, have been termed "sons of Belial."

Luke Astry, the elder, was sent by his father to Oxford, where he matriculated at Hart Hall, but left the University without taking a degree. The reason why we learn from

Richard Goodlad, Sir Samuel's servant, who, in his evidence in a lawsuit, sets forth the following story:—"That he had often heard Sir Samuel Astry, before making his will, complain of Mr. Luke Astry's extravagance in spending a great deal of money at Oxford, where he was placed to study, and of his lewd and vicious life, his son's tutor having sent him several letters to acquaint him thereof, and to desire him to take his son away from the University, for he was sure he would debauch all the youth of the College or Hall where he was. And after the said Luke was come to town he led a very loose life, and one night in particular he remembered he was much in drink, and lying over his father's bedroom made such a noise as occasioned his father to come up to his chamber, and asking him the reason of his making such a noise, he replied they would not let him have any drink, whereupon his father, saying he had too much already, ordered the witness to undress him and put him to bed, his father having before desired him to be quiet and undress himself and go to bed, which the said Luke refused to do. The witness thereupon offering to undress him, he struck him, at which Sir Samuel was very angry, and took him by the collar and shook him, and gave him a box of the ears, upon which Luke struck his father, and his father went away, ordering the witness to stay and see him go to bed, and in a good while after he did go to bed. The next morning Sir Samuel reprimanded him for being in drink, but his son justified himself that he was sober, and very well knew what he did, at which his father was highly provoked, asking him if he justified striking his father, and soon after made a new will, to which this deponent was a witness, whereby it was believed he had disinherited his son, who soon after told the witness that now his father had done his business, for he had disinherited him. The witness further added that Luke Astry did lead so disorderly a life that his father turned him out of his house, and put him into lodgings, and afterwards chambers at Lincoln's Inn were agreed to be bought for him, his father desiring he should

study the law. Money for the purchase of these chambers to the amount of £80 was given to the said Luke, who, with his brother St. John, being then come up to town with Mr. Gotley, of Bristol, to whom he was bound apprentice, in a few days extravagantly spent all the money, at which Sir Samuel was very angry."

Luke escaped the punishment of disinheritance intended by his father by early reaping the harvest of his wild oats—sickness and death. He died in his father's lifetime on May 7th, 1701, aged only twenty-eight, and is buried at Aust.

On June 10th, 1703, Diana Astry tells us a dinner party took place at Henbury, at which were present "Mr. Rolles, Sir John Smyth and my sister, my sister Chester and Captain Price. We had for dinner:

A Supe
A Coople of Green Gease
A Leg of Mutton Rosted
A Dish of Cherry and Gooseberry Tarts
A Dish of Whip Sulebubs
A Custard Pudding."

In the same year a most interesting entry was made in the parish register, recording the damage caused by a storm:—

"Memorandum. That on the 27th of November, 1703, between five and six of the clock in the morning, the tyde broke in and drowned all the marsh, near five foot high. It swept away some of ye fishermen's houses, and drowned the inhabitants of 'em. Abundance of cattle perished in ye water, and several hundreds of sheep. The tempest was so great that it blew down steeples, uncovered houses, and rooted up most of ye great trees, especially ye high elms, with a great deal more of damage."

Sir Samuel Astry's daughter Anne, Mrs. Chester, died in August, 1703, leaving six young children: the seventh was buried with her.

About a year later Sir Samuel was gathered to his fathers,

in the seventy-second year of his age. He was buried at Aust, where his monument may still be seen. The register says Sir Samuel Astry, Knt., was interred 3rd of October, 1704.

His will dated March 2nd, 1698, he never altered, though two of his children, Luke and Mrs. Chester, had died since the signing of it. The principal points are as follows :—

" His body to be buried in his vault in the chancel of Aust church. To Sir John and Lady Smyth he leaves £100 for mourning ; to Mr. and Mrs. Chester £50. To his elder brother, Luke Astry, Esq., £100. Annuities to servants. His wife to pay to his two unmarried daughters £6,000 a piece on their marriage, provided they marry with her consent signified in writing. His eldest son, Luke, is cut off with a thousand marks a year, while St. John the younger gets only 400 marks a year. His wife Elizabeth to be his residuary legatee and sole executrix."

I am now able to answer a question which has often been asked, namely, why Sir Samuel, leaving a surviving son, left the whole of his property, real and personal, to his widow, by giving the following account of St. John as sworn to by witnesses in 1705. He seems to have resembled Luke in want of character, possessing even less intelligence than his brother, as we gather from a remark made later on by Sir Samuel, who evidently did not suffer fools gladly.

Immediately after his father's death he served notices on his tenants, advising them that his father's will was invalid, and ordering them to pay their rents to him. This they refused to do. Whereupon as soon as might be he brought a Bill in Chancery against his mother, from an enrolled record of which I am able to give the ground of his action in the following words :—

" After quoting the terms of his father's will, he contended that Sir Samuel devised his real estate to his wife not with any intent to disinherit him or to debar him from the benefit thereof, but because he (the complainant) had formerly con-

tracted some debts by reason of the short allowance his father made him, and therefore his father out of prudence, to prevent him spending the estates in case he should be disposed so to do and for that reason only had left them to his wife, who, he concluded, would be the best manager thereof for his benefit, and that his father intended the land so devised should be employed for his advantage, and had expressed himself to that purpose to several persons. He also stated that he was placed by his father in the capital messuage of his manor of Westerleigh called Seys, with direction to take care of his coal mines there, who allowed him two hundred pounds per annum, and ordered his bailiff to give him what other money he might have occasion for, and further added that his father in his lifetime was very desirous to see him married, and to that end caused proposals of marriage to be made to several persons, offering to settle great part of his estates upon him and his children, often saying he would leave him his estates and make him as good a commoner as any in the county. That his father died in 1704 having bought more land since making his will. That he after his father's death often waited upon his mother and desired her to permit him to live with her, and thinking it might be to his interest, since his father's death, treated with the friends of a gentlewoman of great value and undoubted reputation, who declared she approved of it if there might be a reasonable converture and settlement made, which he communicated to his mother desiring her concurrence therein, who not only refused to receive him into her house or to approve of his marriage or to consent that he should ever marry, but also refused to pay his life annuity unless he would abate four shillings in the pound for the Queen's duty, which he was forced to do, though she paid not two shillings in the pound out of the land from which it arised. He also requested his mother the defendant might be ordered to set forth what manors or lands Sir Samuel had bought after the publication of his will and might accompt for the personal estate and might be compelled to convey to him all the real

estate and to deliver up all the deeds, evidences and writings concerning the same. And that he might be relieved he prayed the aid of the Honourable Court and that process of sub-pœna might be awarded against the defendant to compel her to appear and answer the said bill. Which being granted and the defendant therewith served, she accordingly appeared and by her answer said she was daughter and only child of George Morse deceased, and that she intermarried with Sir Samuel Astry, and that at the time of her marriage her father was possessed of divers lands of the yearly value of £500 and upward, and that in the year 1666 in consideration of her coming marriage her father settled all his estate to devolve upon her and her heirs on condition that she paid half his rents to her mother, Elizabeth Morse, and making his will on August 15th, 1688, disposed of his property in accordance with this settlement. That her father and mother died long since, that their property having come to her she appointed and made it over to Sir Samuel Astry and herself and the longer liver. That her husband, before making his will, purchased lands in Henbury, Acton, Westerleigh, and other places to the yearly value of £1,600 or thereabouts, besides the coal mines and some reversions which are very uncertain as to their value, and that after making his will he purchased other lands of the yearly value of £135, which cost in all £2,635, but denied that she had received the rents of these since her husband's death, but had ordered the tenants to pay them to the complainant. She also confessed that she had not delivered up the deeds touching them, because complainant detained in his custody some securities for money owing to her. And further said that Sir Samuel, having placed the complainant an apprentice to a merchant in Bristol (Mr. Gotley) he grew very extravagant and idle, and not only misspent but wasted considerable sums of his master's money, which his father discharged, and contracted a great many other debts so that he was in danger of arrest, that without leave of his master he absconded, left his master's service and went

to Westerleigh, a place where his father's coal works were, and settled himself in a house of ill reputation, where by assistance of the colliers he protected himself against his creditors for some time. But she denied that her husband ever employed him in the managry of the coal works, or allowed him any salary, but on the contrary declared that he could not trust him with the receipt of any money. And though her eldest son, Luke, died long before her husband, he never so much as mentioned any intention of altering his will. She further said that when her husband married her he was not in a position to make any settlement answerable to the fortune she brought him, and his son having proved undutiful and she having no settlement out of his estate, she believed for these reasons he devised her the estates. That complainant since the death of his father had so behaved himself towards her that she had no reason to do any more for him, and confessed that upon payment of his annuity she had deducted such taxes as were imposed upon it, which she hoped was lawful for her to do."

Richard Goodlad then gave evidence that "he had divers times heard the late Sir Samuel, before the making of his will, complain of the extravagance of St. John in running into debt by taking goods of tradesmen, and in particular of cloathes, which after wearing a week or some such short time he would give away, and take up other cloathes upon credit to make him a new suit. And also complained of him for leaving his master Gotley before his apprenticeship was out, and said several times that his estate should never go to pay his debts. And oftimes since Luke's death had he heard Sir Samuel chide St. John to his face, and tell him his brother had some wit, but that he was naught but a fool. And he was particularly incensed against him for his debts, a list of them amounting to £7,000 being handed in, but he afterwards heard they amounted to £10,000, and asked St. John whether he meant that he should go to gaol for his debts, and further said that he had marked him, which expression witness did not then

understand, but now knew that it referred to his will." (Sir Samuel evidently had a grim sense of humour.) The witness Goodlad added that "St. John was laid up in Newgate prison in Bristol for debt about last spring was a twelvemonth, and there continued three months, and that great applications were made to Sir Samuel to pay his debts that he might be set at liberty, but that Sir Samuel would not hearken to them, but said according to his way of living Newgate was the fittest place for him. That he at length got out of prison by giving bond to some of his creditors, and the rest seeing his father would do nothing for him withheld their actions. And St. John did in the last few years of his father's lifetime but seldom come to see him, sometimes but once a quarter, and his father was very wroth. The witness also deposed that St. John kept five horses and servants in rich liveries, and also believed that in his father's lifetime he sold his father's coals and kept the money unknown to his father or mother."

William Price, yeoman of Henbury, was next sworn, and deposed that "the night before he was arrested St. John was at his father's house, and brought an idle fellow with him whose company Sir Samuel had commanded him to shun. He never saw his father again till he was dying or dead. And further he said that he had often heard Sir Samuel admonish his son kindly of his faults and extravagance, and bid him be ruled by him and he would make a man of him, and at other times much blame and chide him, and use him very roughly, and find fault with his looks, and tell him he looked like the rogues he kept company with. And sometimes Sir Samuel spoke of his will and how many marks he had given him, saying his son hoped to spend his estate amongst his rogues and whores at Westerleigh, but should be deceived. And his father was much angered that he kept a great many horses of great value and a great many servants, some in rich liveries, at Westerleigh, spending not less than at the rate of £3,000 a year, that the liveries he gave his servants were some of the finest this deponent had even seen, being of blue cloth of

about or near 20s. a yard lined with scarlet and laced with broad gold lace. And more he did not know."

The case was heard on Tuesday, June 25th, 1706, when it was declared by the Court that Sir Samuel Astry's estate was well devised to the defendant, and that there did not appear in the will any trust for the ultimate benefit of the complainant, and that therefore complainant's bill stood dismissed out of court touching that estate which belonged to Sir Samuel at the time of making his will, but that to all land purchased afterwards the complainant was well entitled, and that defendant must deliver up all deeds belonging to those lands to complainant, who for his part was ordered to surrender all securities in his custody belonging to defendant.

St. John Astry having lost his case, retired from the scene. We hear nothing more of him until 1708, when he was heir to his uncle, Luke Astry, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. There is nothing to tell us how he used this windfall; let us hope that before squandering it he satisfied the claims of his creditors.

After mourning Sir Samuel for three years, thoughts of re-marriage entered his widow's head. The name of the suitor for her hand we learn from the following curious document:—

"Wee Simon Harcourt of Pendley in the county of Hertford Esq. and Dame Elizabeth Astry, widow of Sir Samuel Astry, having a true love and affection for one the other, do hereby contract ourselves and doe hereby mutually promise and agree to celebrate marriage in the face of the church within three months from the date hereof. Witness our hands the 24th day of March, Anno Domini 1706–7.

"SIM. HARCOURT.
"ELIZ. ASTRY."

Some hitch in the proposed match seems to have occurred, as appended to this is a query and counsel's opinion in reply:—

"Query: If this contract doth not amount to a marriage.

"The consent of the parties being the very substance and essence of marriage, I conceave this present contract to be an actuall marriage, and that Mr. Harcourt and my Lady are de jure, that is of right, man and wife. The celebrating of the marriage being only a complyance with the ecclesiastical constitutions and cannons and a reducing the first contract into form, but the contract itself makes the marriage. According to the rule of the cannons 'concensus non concubitus facit matrimonium,' that is the consent not the consummas tion makes the marriage.

(*Signed*) "NATH. PIGOT,

"Inner Temple, 28*th of March*, 1707."

Whatever the difficulties, they were cleared away by this opinion. The register supplies the sequel:—

"Simon Harcourt of Pendley in the county of Hertford, Esq., and ye Lady Elizabeth Astry of this parish were married July 22nd, 1707."

Before her marriage Lady Astry took care to settle all her property upon herself, with power of disposal, reserving £1,000 per annum as her private pocket money. Shortly after her marriage she settled a rent charge of £20 a year, to arise from certain lands at Aust, to provide a stipend for a clergyman, who should read Divine Service in the church there every Sunday.

Mr. Harcourt, like Sir Samuel, was a barrister; he held the post of Master of the Crown Office, and was cousin to Simon, Viscount Harcourt, Lord Chancellor in 1713, whom he made trustee to his marriage settlement. The historian Bigland erroneously confuses the two Simons.

Diana Astry, elder of the two unmarried daughters, soon followed her mother's example, being married in London, at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, on December 17th, 1708, to Richard Orlebar, Esq., of Hinwick, in Bedfordshire.

Lady Astry's second matrimonial venture was destined to be a brief one. Ten days after attending Diana's wedding

she died. Not a word touching this event has been preserved. She evidently had no time to make her will, as administration of her goods was granted to her widower on January 12th, 1709.

It is difficult to understand the succession to the property which ensued. Although St. John was living and Mrs. Chester had left a large family, the whole property, manorial rights and advowson of Henbury, seems to have been divided into three equal shares and given to the three surviving daughters, Lady Smyth, Mrs. Orlebar, and Arabella Astry. Nowhere does St. John's name appear as owning anything beyond the small amount of land he obtained after his father's death. Lady Astry may have made this arrangement in her marriage settlement with Simon Harcourt, but as it is not forthcoming the point must remain doubtful.

The next event in the Astry family was the death of St. John, which took place on November 21st, 1711. He was buried at Henbury on November 27th. From the following letter, written on December 13th, 1711, by Arabella Astry to Lady Smyth, we learn that he died repentant :—

" Pall Mall,
" *December* 13, 1711.

" My dearest sister's kind and obliging letter was a great satisfaction and cordiale which revived my spirits yt have been so low with concern for my dear Brother's death that I find it very hard to overcome, but wee must submit to what pleases God. I am glad you approve of his being buried at Henbury. 'Twas where I designed to make a vault for myself, so thought it most proper for yt and other reasons. My brother was very penitent for a great while before I came away, and often prayed very heartily, and would say his thoughts were continually on ye other world, so that wee have great reason to hope he is happy. I am glad our affairs are finished with father Harcourt. I hear he is much out of humour, and says he ought to have had more, and brother

Harry's match I believe have displeased him, she having very little fortune. Mr. Edwards and I thought it best not to sell ye linnen, seeing it had had but bad usage, so sent Margaret into Essex Street and had it brought in a box nailed up to my lodgings, for I believe it would not yield much. As for ye pewter and other things, I believe 'twill be better to sell it yn bring it down. Ye marble chimney pieces are taken away and others put up. Sister Morley sets up very great, keeps her day and has a mighty fine coach and liverys making. I hear my father (Harcourt) is a courting, but don't know her name. Ye town is very full, but no devertion to me now. I have bin but very little out, so have not seen my neices, but will as soon as possible. I hear they took very well. I beg, my dear Madam, youle do me ye favour to present my humble service to Sir John, with ye same to yrself and nephews and neices.

" I am, Madam,
" Your most affec. faithful sister and servant,
" ARA: ASTRY.

" For the Lady Smyth,
" att Long Ashton, near
" Bristoll."

Since St. John died intestate his three sisters divided what there was to divide between them. Arabella seems to have had a greater affection for him than the others, as she it was who erected the handsome tablet in Henbury Church with flowery, and I fear not over truthful, Latin inscription, at the end of which she refers to herself as " the most loving of sisters, the most sorrowful of heiresses."

At the division of the Astry property the Great House and a third of the estate fell to the share of Arabella, who married on July 9th, 1715, Charles William Howard, Lord Walden.

Shortly after her marriage she suffered a cruel blow in the death of her eldest sister, Lady Smyth, which took place on September 15th, 1715. On September 4th of the ensuing year Diana Orlebar, her remaining sister, died also. By this double bereavement Arabella was left last survivor of the Astry family. She and her husband resided in the Great House, which they kept up in a style befitting their rank. Their motto seems to have been: "A short life and a merry one." In 1718 Lord Walden's father died, by which event he became seventh Earl of Suffolk and second Earl of Bindon. His wife gave him no children to inherit his honours. His name remains in two places only in Henbury: namely—in the church tower, upon the tenor bell which he gave, and upon the grave of his negro servant, which has the following quaint inscription and verse:—

"HERE LYES YE BODY OF SCIPIO AFRICANUS,
SERVANT TO YE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES
WILLIAM, EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BINDON,
WHO DIED YE 21ST DEC., 1720, AGED 18
YEARS."

"I WHO WAS BORN A PAGAN AND A SLAVE,
NOW SWEETLY SLEEP A CHRISTIAN IN MY GRAVE.
WHAT THOUGH MY HUE WAS DARK, MY SAVIOUR'S SIGHT
SHALL CHANGE THAT DARKNESS INTO RADIANT LIGHT;
SUCH GRACE TO ME MY LORD ON EARTH HAS GIVEN,
TO RECOMMEND ME TO MY LORD IN HEAVEN,
WHOSE GLORIOUS SECOND COMING HERE I WAIT,
WITH SAINTS AND ANGELS HIM TO CELEBRATE."

In 1720 the Rev. Arthur Darby, Vicar of Henbury, either talked of resigning or became very ill, in consequence of which Sir John Smyth, who had the next presentation, began to look out for a successor, and offered the refusal of the living

to the writer of the following letter—Mr. Holmes, of St. John's College, Oxford :—

"To Sir John Smyth, at Henbury, near Bristol.

"SIR,

"I have taken ye first opportunity of returning you my most hearty thanks for your generous intentions towards me with relation to ye living of Henbury. It was a great surprise to me to receive so great a favour, where I was so little known, but as this increases the obligation, so will it raise in me the strongest sense of gratitude to my benefactor; in ye meantime I beg leave to assure you that it shall be my constant endeavour faithfully and conscientiously to discharge ye trust you shall please to admit me to; studying to behave myself in all points as a minister of God's church and as becomes

"Sir,

"Your most obliged humble servant,

"W. HOLMES.

"St. John's, Oxon, *July 9th*, 1720."

Poor Mr. Holmes was compelled to wait six years for the living, as Mr. Darby, the incumbent, like the proverbial creaking door, hung on until 1726.

Early death was the fate of Sir Samuel Astry's family, and of most of his connections by marriage.

The next burial recorded in the register was that of Lord Suffolk: "The Right Honourable the Earl of Suffolk was buried on February 9th, 1721–2," and barely four months passed by before his widowed Countess was laid beside him: "The Right Honourable the Countess of Suffolk was buried on June 23rd, 1722." And with her ended the family of Astry of Henbury. No monument marks the resting-place of either Earl or Countess.

Lady Suffolk in her will makes her loving brother-in-law,

Sir John Smyth, Bart., her sole executor, leaving to him all her manors of Aust and Hannam Hay upon trust to pay all her debts and legacies. Should they fall short she charges her third part of the Hundred of Henbury with their payment. She bequeaths also to Sir John and his heirs all her third part of the Hundred of Henbury and the advowson of the church; also all her capital messuage of Henbury and all farms and lands within the Hundred of Henbury, in Westbury-super-Trym, Stoke Bishop, Ridland, Shirehampton, Laurence Weston, Charlton, Compton Greenfield, and elsewhere, which last mentioned hundred, advowson, manor, etc., she was encouraged to leave to him as the only person likely to preserve the same, and she hoped he would so settle the same that they might remain in some one or other of her father's descendants, being unwilling that *her father's seat* should be sold, but preserved in some one of his family. She left legacies also to the children of her sister Anne, Mrs. Chester. So under this will Sir John Smyth in the year 1722 became possessed of Lady Suffolk's third share in the Astry estates in addition to the third he held as the inheritance of his wife. The remaining third belonged to the heirs of Diana Orlebar, who afterwards sold it to the heirs of Edward Colston.

On November 30th, 1725, Mr. Chock, master of the Blue Coat School for Boys in Henbury, died. His death was the reason of the following letter being written from one trustee, Edward Southwell, of Kingsweston, to another, Sir John Smyth:—

"London, *27th December*, 1725.

"SIR,

"The alteration which has happened in the trust you and I are engaged in by the death of Mr. Chock is what occasions the present trouble. I left you a troublesome piece of work, as well as an expensive one, which was the necessary reparation of his house and some much wanted in the school, as flooring, etc., and if the poor man had been a little more active, it had been gone upon sooner. To compass this you

see I have been obliged to dismiss most of our boys, and if I may venture to offer my opinion to you, I believe we shall want the assistance of the master's salary to Lady Day at least to do that worke; for you know we have no fines to expect from the estate, and therefore if we are once in debt, there is no way to get out. As to the choice of a master, it would import us to have a grave, able man, and a married one, that so the intention of the donor may be better answered by restoring the credit of the free school and entertaining boarders as I have formerly seen. Among the persons I have named for candidates, Mr. Ridley seems to me best to answer the qualifications requisite. I do not know the gentleman, but by the several accounts I have had of him. As I was told you intended a parish meeting on this affair on the 10th of next month, I was desirous to communicate my opinion of the matter. If the repairs of the school-house goes on, I believe Mr. Sampson, who is so near a neighbour, will with great readiness, upon your speaking, oversee the progress thereof, and that only the necessary be done, for all workmen should have an eye over them.

"I wish you a happy new year, and am with much respect,

"Sir, your most humble servant,

"EDWARD SOUTHWELL.

"To the Honble. Sir John Smyth, Bart.,
"at Ashton,
"near Bristol."

I find the inscription on Mr. Chock's grave in Bigland's history:—

"HERE LYETH THE BODY OF JOSEPH CHOCK OF THIS PARISH, SCHOOLMASTER, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 30TH OF NOVEMBER, 1725, AGED 55."

In the March next Sir John received the following epistle dealing with the same subject :—

" HONRD. SIR,

" I am informed that the woman who has in care the Blewcoat boys of Henbury School, is upon going off, and Sarah Lovering, a widow and parishioner, being a careful and staid person, putting in for the place I take the liberty to desire your interest in her favour at your next choice. She is very well known to most of the gentlemen, and there is no reflection on her former life. Be pleased to excuse this trouble from

" Sir,

" Your most humble servant,

" RICH. HAYNES.

" Bristol, 26*th March*, 1726."

Sir John Smyth died on May 19th, 1726, aged 66, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, John Smyth. In the same year Mr. Darby, vicar of the parish, passed away, leaving the way open at last for the late Sir John's nominee, the Rev. William Holmes, who writes as follows to Sir John the younger on being presented to the living :—

" Oxon, *December* 9*th*, 1726.

" DEAR SIR JOHN,

" I beg you would excuse the trouble I give you, because I could not foresee it, neither can I now avoid it. The Bishop of Bristol is of opinion that ye presentation to ye Vicarage of Henbury, tho' it be discharged, requires four pound stamps; whereas I was informed there is no necessity for anything more than sixpenny stamps for a living under £10 value in ye King's books. I have ordered Mr. Wilmot to wait upon you on Monday or Tuesday morning, with another instrument of presentation to which I beg your hand and seal. I have wrote this post to Mr. Wickham desiring he would entirely

consult his own convenience in his return to Bristol, the ways being so exceedingly bad and my company uncertain, our audit beginning next week. I delivered your letter to ye President, and this night is appointed for drinking your health with ye gentlemen you mentioned and ye rest of your friends, who are all very much at your service. I desire you would make my most humble service acceptable to ye Ladies your sisters, and accept ye same from, Sir,

"Your most dutiful and obliged servant,

"W. HOLMES.

"To Sir John Smyth, Bart.,
"at Mrs. Davey's, next to
"the Duke of Newcastle's,
"in Lincoln's Inn Fields,
"London."

Mr. Holmes remained Vicar of Henbury for a few years only, resigning in 1730 because he found it so extremely difficult to get the Henbury farmers to pay their tithe. He afterwards became Dean of Exeter and President of St. John's College, Oxford. He is buried in the College Chapel.

Sir John Smyth the younger sold the Great House in 1730 to Mr. Jarrit Smith, of Bristol, who had married his sister, Florence, widow of John Piggot, Esq., of Brockley, Som.; so, although it passed out of Sir John's hands, it yet remained in the family.

I copy the deed of conveyance :—

"April 3rd, 1730, Sir John Smyth, bart., for and in consideration of £1,400 paid by Jarrit Smith of Bristol sells and conveys to him All that capital messuage or dwelling house situate and being in Henbury in the county of Gloucester wherein Sir Samuel Astry formerly dwelt and wherein the Right Honourable Arabella late Countess of Suffolk since lived with its gardens etc. together with the following closes of land to wit The two gastons and paddock, Goldsbury, Greens,

Broadlands Furlong, Ison's Hill, Ison's Grove, Shepherd's Close, Visto End and Mill Paddock all within the parish of Henbury."

We are familiar with some of these names.

In the previous year Sir John had sold to Mr. Dowle all the lands in Aust that were in his mother's allotment, and all his lands that were late Lady Suffolk's, except the manor and a few estates that were out on lives, which were afterwards sold to Mr. Degge for £840.

He also sold a half of Lady Suffolk's third of the manor of Henbury to the heirs of Edward Colston, Esq., who had already purchased the whole of the Orlebar share.

So up to the time of Sir John's death the lordship of Henbury, etc., was divided into two parts—one part vested in Sir John, and the other in the Colston heirs, now represented by Edward Colston, Esq., and Lord Middleton. The Great House and the land around it belonged to and was inhabited by Jarrit Smith and Florence his wife. In 1730 Sir John's eldest sister, Miss Anne Smyth, took up her abode in the old manor house, formerly Edward Capell's. She probably leased it from her brother. Her name first appears in the rate-book in 1730.

Sir John Smyth the younger died in 1741, leaving no children. The following letter is evidence of the high regard in which he was held by his neighbours :—

"London, 10 *Feb.*, 1740-1.

"DEAR SIR,

"I most truly sympathise with you in all the just anxiety and concern you must have been in, to see our worthy friend Sir John in so much danger, but letters yesterday revive me with hopes of his recovery. He has generously consulted the welfare of your family and the Honour of mine, and has done more for us both than we can ever return him, and therefore I will not yeild one tittle even to you, in my gratitude

and affection for him. I love him and honour him for his sound heart and his hearty and generous friendship, for tho' I have an extensive prospect from Kingsweston, I may look far and near and not see his equal. He has done me no one kindness, which I have not often reflected upon ever since the first minute I heard he was ill, as well as before.

"The famous place bill which was rejected with disdain last year, will now swim smoothly thro' our house and sink amidst the Lords. We shall have some warm days and then a very thin house.

"Coll. Codrington is gone down to pay a last visit to his Lady, a loss he can never recover, and which can only be alleviated by not being duly sensible how great it is, and yet few men are such philosophers as not to aggravate their own misfortunes. Our worthy friend Mr. Brent is very well and ever kind. Pray let me know how Sir John does. You cannot communicate the case and concern where it will meet with a more feeling sympathy then to

"Dear Sir,

"Your affec. humble servant,

"E. SOUTHWELL.

"To the Rev.
"Samuel Coopey,
"Wraxall."

Under Sir John's will his three surviving sisters became his co-heirs.

Anne, the eldest, who died a spinster, received a third and the house she lived in at Henbury. The ultimate history of which we will follow out at once.

She died in 1760, leaving it to her nephew, Edward Gore, Esq., who sold it in 1762 to a rich merchant of Bristol named Thomas Farr, who took great delight in laying out and planting the slopes of Blaise Hill, on the summit of which he erected the well-known castle, where in ancient days stood

a chapel dedicated to St. Blasius, at whose shrine sailors belonging to ships trading in the Bristol Channel were wont to offer up their vows. Mr. Farr's tenure of the estate endured no longer than twelve years—a reverse of fortune obliged him to sell. A purchaser was found in Denham Skeate, D.C.L., of Bath, who held it barely eleven years, parting with it in 1789 to John Scandrett Harford, Esq., for the sum of £11,000. The Harfords took up their residence in the old manor house in 1790. On October 20th, 1795, Mr. Harford laid the foundation stone of the present mansion, known as Blaise Castle, and moved into the completed house in 1798. It still remains in the possession of his family, while the old house has been pulled down.

Sir John's next sister, Florence, wife of Jarrit Smith, received Ashton Court and a third of the whole estate as her share. She died in 1767, and is buried at Henbury with two of her infant children.

The third sister, Arabella, was wife of Edward Gore, Esq., of Barrow and Flax Bourton. She received the manor house of Christon, near Banwell, in Somerset, and a third of the whole estate. At her death her share passed to her eldest son, John Gore, Esq., who sold it (except Christon) to his uncle, Jarrit Smith, Esq., who thus became possessed of two-thirds of the whole estate. Edward, heir to his aunt, Anne Smyth, was the youngest son of Arabella Gore.

In 1763 Mr. Jarrit Smith was created a baronet.

In 1764, disregarding the wish expressed in Lady Suffolk's will, he sold the Great House to Mr. Michael Miller, a merchant of Bristol. I quote the deed of conveyance :—

"Memorandum. It is covenanted and agreed by and between Sir Jarrit Smith, Bart., of Bristol and Michael Miller of the same city merchant That the same Jarrit Smith shall on or before the 25th day of March next ensuing grant convey and assure unto the said Michael Miller. All that capital messuage or dwelling house with its gardens etc. in the parish

of Henbury as it was conveyed to him by the late Sir John Smyth, Bart., and the said Michael Miller on his part doth oblige himself on the premises being so granted to pay to the said Sir Jarrit Smith the sum of £2,000."

We see by this that Sir Jarrit made a substantial profit on the transaction. He was a lawyer.

The following note by Mr. Sampson belongs to the year 1785 :—" Doctor Davie, our late Vicar, is dead, and we know not who is to be appointed Vicar of Henbury yet, the heirs of Sir John Smyth did appoint Dr. Davie, now the heirs of Colston and Willoughby present jointly and as they both would willingly serve their families occasions, I suppose this delay."

Dr. Davie had succeeded the Rev. J. Gardiner in 1779, and was in his turn succeeded by the Rev. Alexander Colston.

Although Edward Gore sold the third of the Henbury estate left him by his aunt, Anne Smyth, he retained his share of the patronage of the church, which passed to his son, the Rev. Charles Gore, who presented himself to the living in 1792, resigning it in 1803. His right of patronage has come down through his son, the Rev. George Gore, of Newton St. Loe, to his grandson, the present part patron, Francis W. G. Gore, Esq., of Court-y-ralla, Cardiff.

The remaining part of the manor and patronage has passed, as the Long Ashton estate has done, to the descendants of Sir Jarrit Smith and Dame Florence, his wife, and are now in the possession of Lady Smyth, of Ashton Court, who exercised her right of patronage when she presented her nephew, the Rev. Charles P. Way, to the living in 1906.

To bring the history of the Great House to a conclusion, Michael Miller made it his home, and many a festive gathering took place beneath its roof during his time, as is testified to by entries in the diaries of Sir Jarrit Smith and Sir John Hugh Smyth, his son, which have been preserved at Ashton Court.

He died in 1785, and was buried at Henbury. The inscription on his tomb in the church runs thus :—

> "NEAR THIS PLACE ARE INTERRED THE REMAINS OF MICHAEL MILLER, ESQ., BORN AT ST. GALL, IN SWITZERLAND, 22ND OF SEPT., 1703, DIED AT HENBURY IN 1785."

Since he died intestate, and his son, Michael Miller, junior, Master of the Merchant Venturers in 1778, had predeceased him, his estates passed to his son's three daughters, Anne Maria Miller, wife of George Tierney, Esq., of Harley Street, Elizabeth Miller, who died under age; and Mary Miller, spinster, of Stapleton. On December 21st, 1792, Mrs. Tierney and Miss Mary Miller joined in selling the Great House and its land to Henry Francis Brooke, Esq., who let or sold it to Mrs. Cooke, a schoolmistress, who turned it into a boarding school for young ladies. A picture of it at this period is in the possession of Gen. Sampson-Way. In the course of time the school came to an end, and the Great House stood empty. Its final phase is recorded in a collection of letters edited by Mrs. Butterworth, called "Portraiture of a Father." Speaking of her father, Thomas Stock, a worthy merchant of Bristol, Mrs. Butterworth says: "He therefore resolved to move into the country (from St. Michael's Hill), and at length, in 1809, met with an old-fashioned mansion in the village of Henbury, which in its palmy days belonged to Simon Harcourt, Esq., who possessed what is now the Blaise Castle estate. A picture of the house in question is given in Sir Robert Atkyns' *History of Gloucestershire*, with an avenue of trees extending from it to the knoll on which the castle stands. This agreeable prospect it no longer commanded; opposite walls intercepted the view, and standing at the junction of four roads it was exposed to noise and dust. My father having bought it pulled it down, retaining the old

Page 336. THE GREAT HOUSE AS MRS. COOKE'S SCHOOL, ABOUT 1809.

garden, where Neptune presided over a pond strangely disproportionate to his bulky figure, and built a commodious residence at a short distance, where the undulating ground formed a pleasing landscape. This is the present Henbury Court."

Mrs. Butterworth is not quite exact in her details. That her father purchased the estate admits of no question, but as regards the house I have often heard the late Mr. Sampson, of Henbury, say that it was bought by his father, Edward Sampson, senior, and pulled down as he had use for the material. However, whether destroyed by Stock or Sampson, the Great House certainly ceased to exist in 1809, and the place where Morses, Astrys, Smyths, and Millers lived and died knows them no more, but is given over to poultry and other denizens of the farmyard.

By the terms of the late Mr. Sampson's will, the site of the Great House passed, together with the Henbury Awdelett estate, in 1897, to Major-General Sampson-Way, C.B., seventh in descent from Sir Samuel Astry, so that thus, strange to say, after the lapse of many years, the pious wish expressed in Lady Suffolk's will is fulfilled, and all that remains of her father's seat is vested in one of her father's descendants.

THE MANOR AND SITE OF HULLASEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.[1]

By W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY.

Hullasey is situated two hundred yards north of the modern (1857) road connecting Kemble with Tarleton, and within half a mile of the latter place. At a little over one mile, and facing it due north, stands the Church of Cotes (St. Matthew), and rather nearer north-east rises the camp of Trewsbury. It is thus placed near the base of a triangle formed by three roads, two of which, that from Trewsbury to Tarleton and the Fosseway, are Romano-British ones.

The sloping site of Hullasey is distinguished to-day from the surrounding fields by being covered with trees, though few of them date back so far as a century. These few (*quercus pedunculata*), however, are upwards of three centuries old.[2] With the exception of the outlying farm and barn the wood and site is hedged, and in some portion dry-walled around. It is reached through field gates.

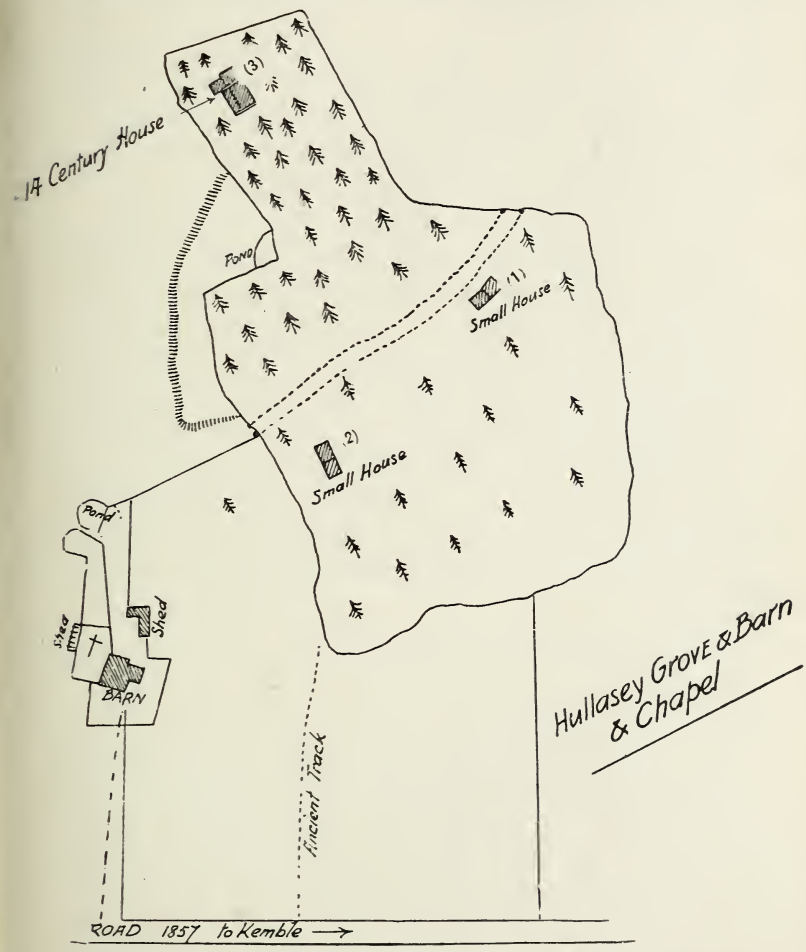
Hullasey, under the form "Hunlafsed"[3] occurs in the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire. It was a manor of

[1] My thanks for enriching this paper with valued suggestions are due to the Editor.

[2] They belong to the days of the Pooles.

[3] *Hullasey* in Domesday Survey is written Hunlafsed, and (c) 1155, Hunlanseta; and the terminal has been taken to signify AS. setl: seat, or abode. But, if we take into account the Pipe-Roll, and rather later non-Norman readings of the name, we find Hunlaueshyde 1169: Hunlavesed: Hunlansyde 1349: and I veuture to think it nearer the mark as to origin to regard the "*s*" as possessive; and to adopt the full term of "*Hyde*" (A.S. Hīd), a farm (later a fixed measure of land), which has evidently struggled through the Norman mispronunciations, and survived. The name, then, will originally have been *Hunlaf's Hyde.*

480 acres, and one Elmar (Aylmer) had had it (T. R. E), who held another manor at Barrington. These his two manors passed to the Norman king. The population of Hullasey consisted of seven males—four villeins and three bordars.



There were also three tenants of the lord, and the value of it was £2 10s. 0d. It had been worth £4 in the days of the Confessor.[1]

[1] Cf. *The Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire*, by the Rev. Charles Taylor, M.A., pp. 44, 118, 165, 281.

Who Hunlaf was, from whom it had taken its name, may be left to conjecture. But it may be pointed out that one Hunlaf, an "optimate," signed as a witness, together with Earl Osferd, to King Athelstan's grant of land at Austan (=Aust, Co. Gloucestershire) to St. Mary, Worcester, A.D. 929 (A.S. Chartulary, 665). Another earlier "Hunlaf Abbas" is witness to a grant (which is probably original) made by Ethelwolf, King of the West Saxons, of Hardenhuish near Chippenham to his thegn Wiferth on Easter Day, 854. The name was not uncommon.

We learn from a charter[1] granted to Mary, Abbess of Romsey, by Henry II early in his reign, that already in the days of this king's grandfather, Henry I, an abbess of the same convent was its owner, and that she was accustomed to geld to the king for one and a half hides. It should be added that Romsey Abbey had then (since the Civil War of Stephen) been rebuilt, and that Abbess Mary herself was the daughter of the latter king. It is probable that the original grant was made by Henry I either to Christiana (1086–1130), aunt of his queen, Matilda (under whom the queen had been educated there), or to Avisa, her successor (1130–55).

To his sheriffs and ministers of Gloucestershire Henry II, etc., etc :—

> "We command that land belonging to Mary, Abbess of Romsey, our kinswoman, namely Hunlanseta, shall be geldable to us for one hide and a half, as she was wont to geld in the time of King Henry [I] my grandfather, and as his charter testifies; and that she may hold that land [Hullasey] as well and in peace freely and honourably as her forebears ever before held it in the time of the aforesaid Henry [I] my grand-

[1] *Cf.* Charter Rolls. Confirmatio of July 10th, 1268, at Woodstock.

father; and upon this she shall not be put to any new customs.

"Witness: HENRY DE ESSEX, the Constable, at Westminster, at the Exchequer."

[Before 1158[1] A.D.]

Also:—

"Henry, King of England, Duke of the Normans and Aquitanians, Count of Anjou, to his justices and ministers of England, greeting: We command you that you cause the Church of Romsey to hold its land of Hunleveshyd well, and in peace, freely and honourably, as it was held in the time of King Henry, my grandfather; and that you will not suffer any Danegeld to be taken from that land except from one hide and a half, as the charter of Henry, the king, my grandfather, and —— witness; and I forbid that any one do any injury or affront to the same Church or its belongings, because it and all its belongings are in my hand and custody and protection.

"Witness: G. DE BRE[I]NCOURT, at Falaise.

"By Writ of Privy Seal and for 100 shillings paid unto the hanaper.

"Examined by PETER DE BARTON."

This Mary, Abbess of Romsey, daughter of King Stephen, in 1159–60 succeeded her brother William as Countess of Boulogne, and then, notwithstanding Archbishop Becket and her monastic vows, she was given in marriage by King Henry II to his cousin, Mathieu d'Alsace, son of Dietrich Count of Flanders and Sybille of Anjou, with whom she lived for ten years. In 1169–70, however, she was compelled by

[1] *The Victoria History* (co. Hants), vol. 2, pp. 126–7, gives about 1160 as the date at which Mary became abbess. This charter, however, was granted before the king left England. We should be probably more correct in fixing her date as abbess two years earlier at the least. Hence her predecessor, Maud, will have died (*c.*) 1157–8.

the Church to separate from him and her two daughters. Whereupon she is believed to have retired to the Convent of St. Austreberthe at Montreuil, where she is said to have died *c.* 1180.

The only reference to the Romsey Abbey possession at Hullasey to be found in the Pipe Rolls, occurs a. 15 Hen. II, 1169 (p. 115), where Roger de Dicklesdon (Dixton) the Sheriff of Gloucestershire renders account for Ernulf, a fugitive from the tithing of Hunlaweshyde :—

> " Idem Vicarius reddit Compotus de dimidio marco pro Ernulfo fugiente de Tydinga de Hunlaweshyde.
> " In thesauro libavit et quietus est."

See also p. 118, Einulfo de Hunlavesed fugiens xiii^{s}. and vi^{d}.

From an Inspeximus of certain grants confirmed by Edward II to the abbey, mentioned by Richard II in a Charter of Confirmation to the then abbess and convent, and dated May 10th, 1390, we learn that the market of Ashton (Keynes), co. Wilts, had at some previous date been granted to it: "We have inspected the Charter of Confirmation of the Lord Edward, formerly King of England, and our great grandfather, etc." And from the statement in Feudal Aids, under A.D. 1316 (p. 270), that Richard Lyuvell (Lovell) and the Abbess of Romsey are lords of Coates,[1] it seems certain that the abbey's property and responsibility around Hullasey

[1] Part of Tarleton, or Torlton, lay in Coates, and the Abbess of Romsey was lady of this, though not of Coates Manor. On July 26th, 1343, we find the king deposing John de Bryan, Prebend of Tarleton (*cf.* Pat. Rolls, pt. iii. a. 17 Edw. III), and appointing John de Macclesfield, on the ground of the alienation of the advowson thereof, held by the king in chief, and made without the king's license by the Bishop of Salisbury. On June 18th, 1344, the king revokes his grant made to Macclesfield because he learns that one Vitalis de Testa has long been holding the prebend by a just and sufficient title. Vitalis was there from 1323 to 1346. *Tarleton:* earlier usually Torleton, and D. S. Torentune; probably represents Torels-tūn, or the enclosure of Torel.

had been increased, especially at Tarleton. The advowson of this chapel was not held, like that at Hullasey, by the Abbess of Romsey, but by the Bishop of Salisbury.

Neither the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas nor the above Inspeximus make mention of any chapel at Hullasey. That one was there does not rest upon the testimony of Rudder alone. He merely states that a chapel was still in his day (1750) standing there, but was used as a barn. If we turn to the Papal Petitions of the year 1349, we find the free Chapel of Hunlansyde, in the Diocese of Worcester, valued at two marks, is held by John de Lameley, Clerk of the Diocese of York, D.C.L., who also holds the parish church of Wardon, Diocese of Lincoln, value thirteen marks.

This reference at once gives us the value, though not the Dedication, of the chapel, and the name of its priest in the year of the Black Death.

As there was no parish either at Hullasey or at Tarleton in early Norman days, the chapel at Hullasey, at any rate, had to be made and endowed by the landowner, *i.e.* the Abbess and Convent of Romsey. It was theirs also to appoint a stipendiary priest, or to farm the chapelry for a small fee to a clerk, subject to the approval of the Bishop of Worcester, and responsible to the latter for the becoming discharge of his duty. He would be given a house perhaps adjoining the chapel, and would be provided for out of the small tithes, the greater tithe going to Romsey. Tradition of gravestones found at Hullasey points to the right of burial formerly exercised there. In spite of this absence of any direct traces, an old workman clearly stated that as a boy he remembered his father moving a gravestone from the neighbourhood of the barn and taking it down into the wood. He had likewise heard that there had been a chapel there, and old-time burials.

It became necessary to examine the present barn and to search for traces of Gothic mouldings. But although the ground around and beyond the barn, between it and the wood

(or site of Hullasey), exhibit many tokens of structural foundations, nothing was found in the present barn building to be identified with a chapel. Not a moulded stone occurred, and no inscription remains save a few late seventeenth-century initials cut roughly near the jambs of the north doorway.

In view of slight surface indications of some structure lying at a different angle to the present barn buildings and situated in its open cattle yard, the spade was set to work here. Within a week the following ground plan, orientated correctly, was brought to light, measuring 55′ by 19′, with its only remaining entrance placed toward the western end of the south wall, and measuring 5′ 6″ in width.

Almost opposite to this, in the north wall (interior), occurs a wide (window ?) recess, 18 in. in depth.

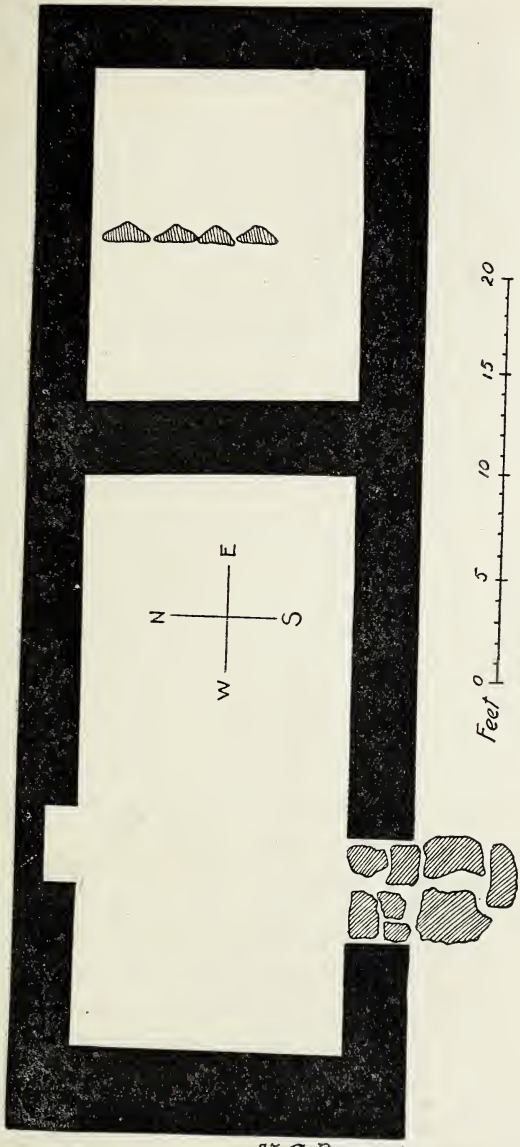
At 26′ 6″ from the inner side of the west wall, eastward, a (3′ 6″) wall was met with, dividing this building into unequal halves, and at 9′ 6″ west of this wall there lie in site and parallel to it three large footing stones of triangular form, with major faces to west, or with their said faces at 8 ft. from east wall-base, and suggesting remains of a step. No burials were found.

A few pieces of pottery found here belong to the fourteenth century, and resemble the ware very abundantly found in the houses situated in the wood below.

The west wall in width measures 4 ft. The side walls (N. and S.) and the east wall 3 ft.

These appearances are such as may be held to prove that this orientated building was once the Chapel of Hullasey. It was divided into two portions by a screen, the western portion measuring 24′ by 13′ 10″, and the eastern 20′ by 13′ 10″. Outside the south door (5′ 6″) a path ending at it, with several large and irregular slabs of ragstone, showed it to have been the porch.

At 26′ 6″ north of all these foundations a 2′ 2″ wall running north-east to south-west, and belonging to another and



Sr C.B. mensr et delinr

Chapel

lengthier building, was traced beneath and through the present cowsheds to where it gives out in the open field. This may have pertained to a previous edition of the present cattle-shed there.

At the bottom of the field dividing it from the wood runs the line of an ancient by-road leading to the extinct vill of Hullasey, which the modern road from the Fosseway and Kemble cuts at right angles on its way to Tarleton.[1] The path to the chapel, therefore, must have run northward from this, rather uphill, to the south porch.

In the Close Rolls, a. 36 Henry VI (m. 29, Dorse), referred to by Fosbroke (vol. ii, p. 506), there is a reference to the pasture in Hullasey: "The Abbess and Convent of Romsey released lands [at Coates] and the advowson of a chapel and land belonging to it to John Langley, reserving their lands in Torleton [Tarleton] and pasture in Hunlasyde."

The chapel here referred to had nothing to do with that at Hullasey. It was the chapel at Tarleton on a manor there, which in the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas appears as a prebend belonging to the Church of Sarum, and it was taxed £1 16s. (?). We should therefore understand that the chapel stood in the Coates portion of Tarleton, and passed from the Bishop of Sarum to the Abbey of Romsey.

The question arises, at what date did the village of Hullasey, for which its own chapel was erected, arise? and also when did it cease to exist?

The hope of determining these points depends partly upon the results, so far as these have been obtained, of excavation. Some few years back the present owner of Hullasey, Lord Biddulph of Ledbury, excavated the basements of two separate small houses in the wood, which we will in future call No. 1 and No. 2. These were situated as marked upon the subjoined plan, No. 1 near the southern side of the wood, and No. 2 nearer to the north side of it. Since then the writer has excavated a more extensive house toward the

[1] In early deeds it is equally spelled "Torleton."

north-east angle of it, or a hundred yards from No. 2. This will be called No. 3. In addition to these Lord Biddulph opened, but did not excavate, a structure lying in the wood, surrounded by evident sites of other dry-walled houses with quadrangular rooms; but apparently it was not belonging to any of these as a special adjunct. It seemed to resemble sufficiently a kiln, and that name was then given to it. Further and more complete excavation somewhat modifies that view of it, and we take it to have been a baking-oven.

But house No. 1 comes first in order.

The remains consist of two rooms communicating by a narrow doorway, and lying in line west by south and east by north. The walls stand 3 ft. in height, being built without cement, and they average 2 ft. in thickness. With exception of a few ashlared stones at the base of one wall, the material used is the local oolite undressed.

The east room measures 33′ 10″ by 14′ 2″, and at its western extremity (but on the south side) is a doorway 5 ft. wide, which was found stopped with large stones. A much smaller door (1′ 9″) occurs at the north end of the dividing wall. This communicates with the west room, which appears to have had no other exit, though in dimensions it is rather the larger of the two rooms, being 34′ 8″ by 14′ 2″. No trace remains of a floor in either; but in the latter, rather south of its centre (or 7 ft. from its north wall), was found a roughly octagonal hole 6 ft. in diameter, 3 ft. deep, which had been scooped out of the natural rock. In it was found a broken buff (fourteenth-century) vase. This was neatly put together from its fragments by Mrs. S. Bowley, of Siddington House, and it is now in the museum at Cirencester. Its presence in the pit, wherein nothing else was found, points to the latter having served as a store or hiding-place beneath the floor of the house.

The pot, which is large, without handles, is circular, and supports itself upon three pegged feet undecorated. These

project 1 in. It measures 11 in. in height, has an ample lip-rim ($8\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter) bearing faint traces of yellow glaze upon it, together with an irregular undulant brush-mark. The body has the same design carried around it in a simple zone, divided vertically into several more or less regular sections by straight incised lines set in couples at every $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

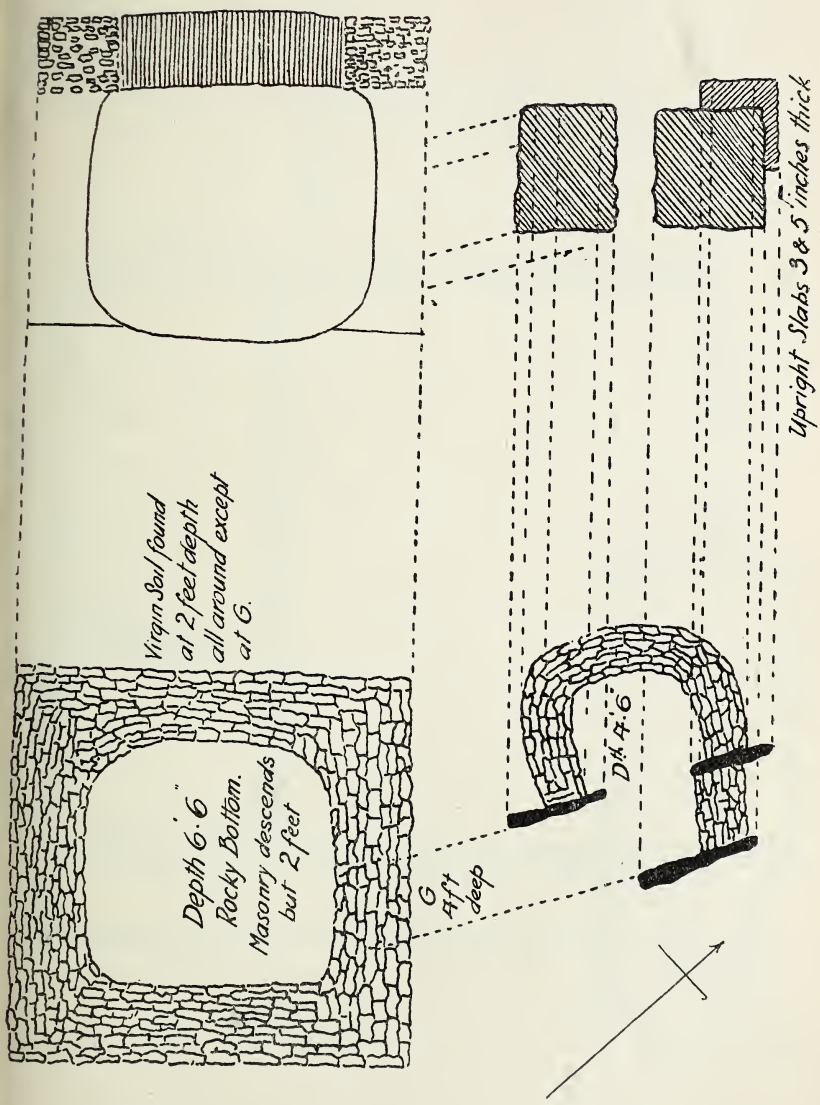
No other objects of interest were found.

The position of this long shallow house suggests that it faced a street running much in the same direction as the present N. to S. track through the wood.

House No. 2, situated near the Gate, or north side, lies N.E.—S.W. It consists likewise of but two rooms, one of them much better defined than its fellow, and measuring 41′ 2″ by 17′ 2″. In the middle of the north wall is a 4 ft. doorway. A small number of ashlared stones occur, but no tiles. A few fragments of coarse blackened cooking-pots have well-moulded rims, but are without decoration. Whether these rather large rooms for such houses were divided up by wooden partitions, and whether the upper storeys (if such they had) were made of timber, must be left to conjecture.

Similar houses, composed of rectangular rooms, and all of them built in "dry," are discoverable in most parts of the lower wood. The same types of pottery occur in all those examined. A few animal bones were found in the remains of another house towards the north end of the wood, in a room measuring 32′ 3″ by 15′.

The so-called kiln was completely excavated, and its contents carefully sorted. It stands apart from, though near to, houses. The external sides of it measure 8′ 10″, and of its total depth of 6′ 6″ the uppermost 2 ft. were formed of dry-walling, made with small stones neatly set. The bottom and internal sides are formed of the cut rock. The bottom is wider than the masonried mouth, and slightly concave. The latter, with rounded angles, has an aperture of 5′ by 5′ 6″. The north and north-west angles are more



OVEN XIV CENTURY

emphatically curved than are the opposite ones. So to speak it resembles a big jar, but it is a pit which once was probably a typical oven. Traces of fire were abundant on the top, but were wanting below. Some eighty or more fragments of pottery came from the contents, and these belonged to culinary vessels of the twelfth to fifteenth century.[1]

At 4-ft. distance, immediately north of it, lie remains of another small structure (see Plan) communicating with it by a channel or passage 2 ft. wide.

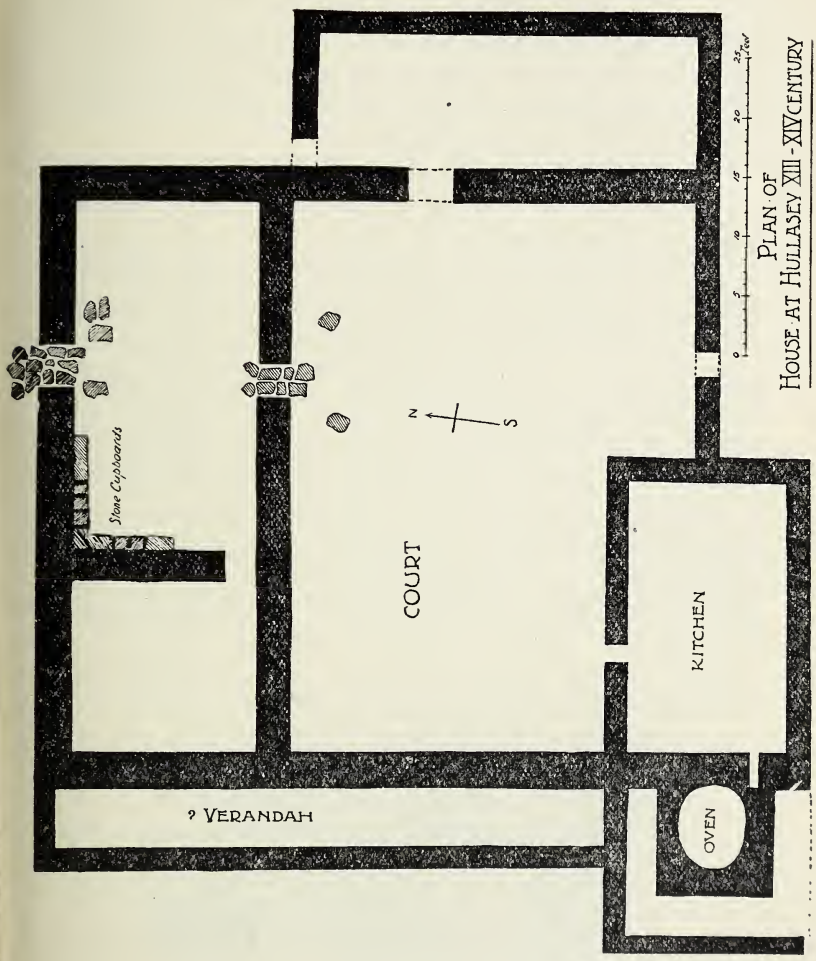
This consists entirely of dry-walling forming a curved or horse-shoe design, the ends of which terminate abruptly in large upright slabs, 3 ft. high. The northern side has an adjunctive extension. The whole lies at a depth of 4′ 6″ from the present surface. The precise use of it as a receptacle, and the manner of that use, is not as clear as could be wished. The traces of fire are few. The rocky bottom of the adjoining pit was clean, and neither blackened nor reddened. That it was once an oven seems to be certain,—perhaps a public one! Later it has served as a refuse-pit. No single fragment of a handle to any of the pots or jars occurred here, although several occurred in another similar and more perfect structure of the kind.

The selection of a site, apparently that of a more important dwelling than any other yet opened at Hullasey, brings us to consider house No. 3, situated toward the north-west angle of the wood.

This is entered on the north-west by a 3′ 1″ door, having paving stones in front of it, probably from a street. The front wall is 3 ft. in thickness. The first room measures 32′ by 15′ 4″. A similar door, precisely opposite the first, leads into a large court, of which presently.

Within 5 ft. of the entrance, and on our right against

[1] Near the top were found three pieces of Romano-British pottery, but no others were to be found anywhere on the site, which, however, is of course in the neighbourhood of Romano-British remains. They must have been thrown in at a late date.



PLAN OF HOUSE AT HULLASEY XIII - XIV CENTURY

the west wall, stands a stone bench, which is carried along it to the angle, which it turns, and whence it continues for 11 ft. along the south wall. At 11 ft. that wall ends in a door (3′ 6″) leading to Room 2, measuring 15′ 4″ by 14′ 2″, the dividing wall measuring 2 ft., and all the other walls 3 ft. The stone bench was divided underneath by upright slabs into small cupboards. These contained only soil and one or two pieces of mediæval pottery.

The court is not paved, and it measures 49′ by 32′.

Outside, and attached to its south-east angle, stands an oven of horse-shoe form, recalling the one previously described, being quasi-circular, placed and built up within a small quadrangular walled area measuring 11′ 8″ by 14′ 2″, and having an aperture of 5′ 8″. This proved to have originally been fed by a square hole through the wall to the court, level with the court pavement. That hole was found to have been deliberately blocked, after having ceased to be of use. At a level 3 ft. above it occurs the later entrance to the oven, 2′ 6″ aperture. Numerous rims of vessels were found here, together with three or four handles of a well-known type of glazed fourteenth-century pitchers, with the base-rim of one crinkled by the well-known

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURY POTTERY, HULLASEY.

"thumb-mark" all round it. (See diagram.) The original floor was compact, having buff-coloured earth upon it, and above that again earth reddened with fire. This was the latest form of the oven of this house, and it has much in common with the one previously described.

Running north-west from this, at a distance of but 4′ 3″ from the main south outer wall of the house, and parallel with it, occurs a 2-ft. wall suggestive of a verandah, or covered passage,—perhaps a low parapet wall for columns, after the manner of a Romano-British villa.

Here we have perhaps the most important house in Hullasey, and one reminiscent of a courtyard villa, but it is distinctly mediæval, and was built in the manner of all the other houses here. So that both the pottery and the house merely recall Romano-British models.

Further, upon its north side, the court of this house opened (within 10 ft. of the north-west angle) by a doorway through the wall to another important but narrow room, 32′ 8″ by 11′ 6″. No objects of interest were found in it.

Such a house as this may have been that of the Reeve of the small Manor of Hullasey, but there is nothing save its larger dimensions and accommodation to suggest this. Nor is there any evidence, saving the absence of pottery later than fifteenth century, which bear upon the question as to when and wherefore the village was abandoned. Dry-walling tells few details. The literary references to Hullasey throw no light upon the point. The value of Hullasey in 1538 is supplied by the List of Manors and Lordships given to Sir Thomas Seymour, December 28th, written by John Foster, the Steward of the Abbey of Romsey, *i.e.* £6 13s. 4d.

In 1588 Sir Giles Poole obtained a grant of the Manors of Hunlacy and Torlton,[1] both of them parcels of the Abbey of Romsey, for 8s. 4d. reserved rent, and in 1616 the Pooles still owned it.

[1] D.S. *Torentone*. The tithes here with the chapel had been granted to Giles Poole in a. 34 Hen. VIII (1542-3).

But the chapel at Tarleton was a prebend of the Church of St. Mary Sarum, not of Romsey Abbey, consequently the Bishop of Salisbury had the appointment. This chapel was erected before 1343 (*cf.* Pat. Rolls, a. 17 Edw. III, pp. 111, 238), since we have not only the Taxatio to prove it, but the names of three prebends of the latter date.

Evidence is, however, lacking to show to whom—whether to the Crown, or (as is more probable) to the Bishop of Sarum—the Abbey of Romsey owed its possession of the manor at Tarleton. But at the Dissolution the Abbey held "Hullasy cum Torleton, juxta Cotes," worth £6 13s. 4d.,[1] in all probably comprising an area of 600 acres.[2] This explains why the chief farm actually and to-day at Tarleton became called Hullasey Farm. At a later date Bishop Frampton, of Gloucester, held the prebend of Tarleton.

As to the abandonment of the vill of Hullasey, the complete absence of any objects, including pottery, belonging to any later date than the early fifteenth century may point to the conjecture that one or more of the great epidemical visitations of the county may have crippled and then ended its existence as a village; and, correspondingly, that as a mere pasturage without a residence became conveniently enough managed from the farm at Tarleton. Its life as a village may have been limited to perhaps little more than two centuries.

[1] The Steward of Romsey's letter to Sir Thomas Seymour (of Sudeley), December 29th, 1538, gives "Gloucester, Hownelacy, £6 13s. 4d." (Cf. *Mem. of Romsey Abbey*, Warren, pp. 53, 253.) Kindly communicated to me by Rev. T. Cooke-Yarborough, Vicar of Romsey.

[2] This shows the two small manors as conjoined and reckoned as one.

In Memoriam.

JOHN BEDDOE, F.R.S.

Dr. Beddoe was one of a singularly brilliant group of medical men who found their home in Bristol in the middle of the last century, others of the number being Dr. Pritchard, the ethnologist; Dr. Budd, a high authority on zymotic disease; Dr. Estlin, the ophthalmologist; and Dr. Herepath, famous in his day as an analytical chemist.

Dr. Beddoe was born at Bewdley in 1826, and abandoning the profession of the law, took his M.D. degree at Edinburgh in 1853. In the following year he went to the Crimea for service in the military hospitals, and his journey home through Vienna gave to him the first opportunity on a large scale of the study of ethnology, which he had begun in Orkney in 1852, and which he continued to the end of his long life. In 1857 he settled in Clifton, and lived there till some twenty years ago, when he retired to Bradford-on-Avon.

Dr. Beddoe was one of the best known anthropologists in Europe. In 1867 he was awarded a prize of a hundred guineas by the Council of the Welsh National Eisteddfod for the best essay on the Origin of the English Nation. This essay was afterwards expanded into his well-known book, *The Races of Britain.* In 1889 he was President of the Anthropological Institute, and in the following year he delivered his Rhind lectures on "The Anthropological History of Europe," a work which showed profound knowledge of the physical characters, migrations, and evolution of the peoples of Europe; and quite lately he was appointed Honorary Professor of Anthropology in the University of Bristol.

Dr. Beddoe was one of the founders of our Society. In December, 1875, as Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Society, he, together with Lord Ducie and Mr. P. Hallett, issued a circular proposing the formation of the Society, and at the Inaugural Meeting held on April 22nd, 1876, he seconded a vote of thanks to Bishop Ellicott for taking the chair, a special vote of thanks having been previously passed to him, together with Mr. Hallett and Mr. John Taylor, for their services in the formation of the Society.

Dr. Beddoe served as President of the Society at the meeting held in Bristol in 1890, and delivered a characteristic address: he also contributed some valuable papers on local ethnology to our *Transactions*. That two such notable anthropologists as Dr. Beddoe and Dr. Rolleston were willing to take part in its work was a very great assistance to our Society in its early days, and that Dr. Beddoe was able to do so much first-rate and pioneer work, in spite of the pressing claims of an exacting professional career, for so long a time, is a striking proof of his energy and persistence. Even when he had settled down at Bradford-on-Avon he did excellent work for his new neighbours, serving on various local boards and committees, as well as on the Wilts County Council. He closed his long, distinguished and useful life at Bradford-on-Avon on July 19th last.

SIR JOHN DORINGTON.

It would be true to say that to give an account of what Sir John Dorington was to Gloucestershire would be to write a summary of the administration of county business for the last quarter of a century at least. He was a Gloucestershire man, educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, who found the work of his life among his own people, and did that work thoroughly well. He was one of the founders of the Society, having given in his name to the Provisional Committee as one who would help on its objects to the best of his power, and at the Inaugural meeting he seconded a resolution which had been moved by the Bishop of Clifton. At the fifth annual meeting, held at Stroud in July, 1880, Mr. Dorington was naturally chosen President of the Society, and he delivered an excellent address. Knowing as he did the Cotswold district thoroughly, he brought his Archæological knowledge to bear upon it in a most interesting and instructive way. The address is still very well worth reading, as showing how much teaching can be drawn from careful observation of the natural features of a country.

Sir John Dorington was, of course, too busy a man to be able to give much time to the work of the Society, but he was a life-member, and his death marks the passing of one more of the rapidly dwindling band of those who formed our Society now thirty-five years ago. He died in London on April 5th last in his 79th year.

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Little, F. A., Atcombe Court, Woodchester, Glos.
Liverpool, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Kirkham Abbey, Yorkshire.
Liverpool Free Library, Liverpool.
Llewellin, John, C.E., Hazeland, Devizes, Wilts.
London Library, 12 St. James' Square, London, S.W.
Long, Col. William, C.M.G., Newton House, Clevedon, Somerset.
Lowe. C. J., Castle House, Flax Bourton, near Bristol.
Loxton, S. J., 3 Hampton Park, Redland, Bristol.
Lyddon, F. S., 5 Beaufort Road, Clifton.
Lysaght, W. R., Castleford, Chepstow, Mon.
Lysons, Rev. D. G., M.A., Wotton Rise, Gloucester.

MacCormick, Rev. F., F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.A.S., Wrockwardine Wood, Wellington, Salop.
Malleson, Miss, Dixton Manor, Winchcombe, R.S.O., Glos.
Manchester Library (Charles W. Sutton, Sec.), Manchester.
Mardon, Heber, 2 Litfield Place, Clifton Down, Bristol.
Margetson, Jack, Brightside, Stroud, Glos.
Margetson, William, Brightside, Stroud.
Marling, Stanley, Stanley Park, Stroud.
Marmont, B. P., Windsor Edge House, Inchbrook, near Woodchester, Glos.
Marrs, Kingsmill, c/o Maquay & Co., Bankers, Via Tornabuoni, Florence, Italy.
Marsland, Ellis, Court House, Painswick, Stroud.
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Martin, Sir R. B., Bart., Overbury Court, Tewkesbury, Glos.
Master, Mrs. Chester, Knole Park, Almondsbury, R.S.O., Glos.
Matthews, J. A., Lewishurst, The Spa, Gloucester.
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*McMurtrie, Jas., F.G.S., 5 Belvedere Road, Durdham Park, Bristol.
**Medland, Henry*, Prinknash Corner, Painswick, Stroud (Hon. Member).
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Mullings, John, Cirencester.
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Newberry Library, Chicago, c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.
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Oatley, G. H., F.R.I.B.A., Church House, Clifton.
*Oman, Professor, C. W. C., M.A., M.B.A., F.S.A., All Souls' College, Oxford.
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Paddison, R. O., Bownham, Stroud, Glos.
Page, Arthur W., 2 Bristol Chambers, St. Nicholas Street, Bristol.
Paine, A. E. W., Churchdown, near Cheltenham.

Palethorpe, Mrs., 69 Woodland Road, Tyndall's Park, Clifton.
Parker, George, M.A., M.D, 14 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Parsons, H. F., M.R.C.S., The Heath, Sneyd Park, Clifton, Bristol
Paul, J. E., c/o Paul & Kitcat, Tetbury, Glos.
Pavey, Miss Alice, 4 Mortimer Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Pearson, George, Bannerleigh, Tyndall's Park, Clifton.
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Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
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Potter, R. E., Ridgewood, Almondsbury, Glos.
Powell, Cecil, The Hermitage, Weston-super-Mare.
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Sawyer, John, Glevum Lodge, Battledown, Cheltenham.
Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum, London, S.W.
Scobell, Ven. Archdeacon E., M.A., Upton St. Leonard's Rectory, Gloucester.
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Scott, Herbert H., Old House, Wotton, Gloucester
Sessions, Herbert, Quedgeley Court, Gloucester.
Sewell, Edward C., The Beeches, Cirencester.
Seys, Mrs. Godfrey, Wirewood's Green, Chepstow.
Sharp, T. F., 11 Beaconsfield Road, Clifton.
Shaw, J. E., M.B., 23 Caledonia Place, Clifton, Bristol.
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Shute, Mrs., 12 St. George's Court, Gloucester Road, London, S.W.
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*Simpson, J. J., Osborne House, Cotham Park, Bristol.
Sinclair, The Hon. Rev. C. A., M.A., Hempsted, Gloucester.
*Sinclair, The Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., The Greenway, near Cheltenham.
Slater, Alfred, Garron Dene, Gloucester.
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Smith, Richard Henry, The Chantry, Nailsworth, Glos.
Smith, R. Shingleton, M.D., Deepholm, Clifton Park, Clifton, Bristol.
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Smith, W. A., M.B., 70 Pembroke Road, Clifton.
Smithin, J. A., Lloyd's Bank, Gloucester (Hon. Treasurer).
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Spofforth, Fairfax, 21 Belgrave Road, Tyndall's Park, Clifton, Bristol.
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Stephens, Albert J., 10 Alexandra Road, Gloucester.
Stevens, Mrs., Springhill, Nailsworth, Glos.
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Thomas, R. Beaumont, The Grove, Wimbledon Park, Surrey.
Thomas, W. K., 4 Hillside, Cotham Hill, Bristol.
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Thorpe, Thomas, Osborne House, Frocester, nr. Stonehouse, Gloucestershire.
Thursby, Mrs., Broadwell Hill, Moreton-in-Marsh, Glos.
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Tidswell, R. I., Haresfield Court, Stonehouse, Glos.
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Tinson, C. J., The Cleevelands, Marle Hill, Cheltenham.
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Townshend, C. W., The Coppice, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
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Trees, Mrs., Wager Court, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
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Tubbs, Stanley W., Ellerncroft, Wotton-under-Edge, Glos.
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Tudway, Clement, Cecily Hill, Cirencester.
Twining, Llewellin, The Gastons, Redland Green, Bristol.

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Vaughan-Hughes, Gerald M., Wyelands, Chepstow.
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Vickers, Kenneth H., Cedar Hall, Frenchay, Bristol.

Wait, H. W. K., 2 Worcester Villas, Clifton.
Waller, F. W., 18 College Green, Gloucester.
Walters, Rev. C., M.A., The Horsepools, The Edge, Stroud.
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Ward, H. W., Frenchay, near Bristol.
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Warner, Wiclif, Ardagh, Horfield Common, Bristol.
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Warren, T. Herbert, D.C.L., President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Waterman, A. N., M.A. Oxon., 10 Cambridge Park, Durdham Down, Bristol.
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Webb, W. E., Capital and Counties Bank, Bristol.
Welch, Miss, Arle House, Cheltenham.
Welchman, Rev. W., 24 Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol.
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Wells, C. Courtenay, 7 Brunswick Road, Gloucester.
Wenden, James Gordon, The Chantry, Dursley.
*Were, Francis, Walnut Tree House, Druid Stoke, Bristol.
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Williams, Thos. Webb, B.A., Greystones, South Road, Weston-super-Mare.
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Wilson, Robert, M.B., Millbrook, Nailsworth.
Wing, J. Clifford, Falklands, 37 Whiteladies Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Winterbotham, A. S., Stonehouse Court, Glos.
Wintle, Charles, 30 Baldwin Street, Bristol.
Winwood, Rev. H. H., M.A., F.G.S., 11 Cavendish Crescent, Bath.
Wisconsin Histl. Socy., c/o H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
Wise, William Henry, The Council House, Bristol.
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*Witts, Rev. Canon Broome, M.A., The Manor, Upper Slaughter, R.S.O., Glos.
*Witts, G. B., C.E., Hill House, Leckhampton, Cheltenham.
Wollaston, G. H., M.A., Flax Bourton, near Bristol.
Wollaston, Mrs., Flax Bourton, near Bristol.
Wood, Jos. Foster, 9 Westbury Park, Durdham Down, Bristol.
Woodcock, H. C., 45 St. Nicholas Street, Bristol.
Woodward, Miss E. K., M.A.,
Woollright, Major, Junr. U.S. Club, Charles Street, London, S.W.
Worsley, Capt. H. Mant, Lulworth House, Keynsham, near Bristol.
Wrangham, Rev. F., Long Newnton Rectory, Tetbury.
Wright, Major, Hidcote Vale, Chipping Campden, Glos.
Wright, Jno. Alfred, C.E., 60 Churchways Avenue, Horfield, Bristol.

Yabbicom, Col. T. H., C.E., Isleworth, Oakfield Road, Clifton, Bristol.
Young, C. E. Baring, Daylesford House, Chipping Norton, Oxon.

Literary Societies exchanging Transactions with this Society:

The Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries (Ireland), Dublin.

The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 19 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

The British Archæological Association, 32 Sackville Street, London, W.

The British School at Rome, Palazzo Odesculchi, Rome.

The Birmingham and Midland Institute, Archæological Section, Birmingham.

The Cambrian Archæological Society, Hon. Sec., Rev. Canon Morris, 4 Warwick Square, London, W.C.

The Royal Institute of Cornwall, Museum, Truro, Cornwall.

The Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, Hon. Sec., L. Richardson, F.G.S., 10 Oxford Parade, Cheltenham.

The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Hon. Sec., Percy N. Currey, Esq., 3 Market Place, Derby.

The Essex Archæological Society, Hon. Sec., The Castle, Colchester.

The Kent Archæological Society, Museum, Maidstone, Kent.

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, The Librarian, The Black Gate, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The Powys Land Club, Museum and Library, Welshpool.

The William Salt Archæological Society, 2 Bank Passage, Stafford, Hon. Sec., J. C. Wedgwood, M.P.

The Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society, The Castle, Taunton.

The Shropshire Archæological and Nat. Hist. Society, Hon. Sec., H. W. Adnett, The Square, Shrewsbury.

The Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History, Hon. Sec., Rev. Canon Warren, Bardwell Rectory, Bury St. Edmunds.

The Surrey Archæological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford.

The Sussex Archæological Society, Lewes Castle, Lewes, Sussex.

The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, The Museum, Devizes, Wilts.

The Worcestershire Architectural Society, c/o Mr. Houghton, Bookseller, S. Swithun Street, Worcester.

The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association, Hon. Librarian, 10 Park Street, Leeds.

The Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S A., c/o Messrs. Wm. Wesley & Co., 28 Essex Street, London, W.C.

TERMS OF ADMISSION TO THE SOCIETY.

Those who are desirous of joining the Society, can be admitted, after election by the Council, on the following conditions:

I. As Life Members for a Composition of £7 7s. 0d., and an Admission Fee of 10s. 6d., which will entitle them to receive gratuitously for life, the annual volumes of Transactions of the Society that may be issued after the date of payment.

II. As Annual Members upon payment of 10s. 6d. Entrance Fee, and an annual subscription of 10s. 6d., which will entitle them to receive gratuitously, the annual volume of Transactions for every year for which their subscriptions are paid.

The Annual Subscription becomes due on the 1st of January, and the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. J. A. Smithin, will be obliged if members will send their subscriptions to him at Lloyds Bank, Gloucester.

By order of the Council, the Transactions of the Society are only issued to those members who have paid their subscriptions for the corresponding year, and only the names of those elected members who have paid their entrance fee and first annual subscription are entered in this list.

Application for admission as members to be made to one of the Hon. *Local* Secretaries, the Hon. Secretary for Bristol, or to

ARNOLD E. HURRY,
Hempsted Court,
Gloucester,
Hon. General Secretary.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

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GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS, PROGRAMME,

AND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES

FOR THE

ANNUAL SPRING MEETING

AT

BRISTOL,

Tuesday, 30th May, 1911.

ADMISSION TO THE SOCIETY AND TO THE ANNUAL MEETINGS.

Those who are desirous of joining the Society can be admitted after election by the Council on the following conditions :—

I.—As Life Members, for a composition of £7 17s. 6d. (entrance fee, 10s. 6d ; life payment, Seven Guineas), which entitles them to receive gratuitously for life the Annual Volumes of the Society that may be issued after the date of payment.

II.—As Annual Members, for the payment of £1 1s. (entrance fee, 10s. 6d. ; annual payment, 10s. 6d.). These receive gratuitously the Annual Volume of the Society for the year of admission, and for every following year in which they continue to pay without intermission a subscription of 10s. 6d.

Or, on introduction by a Member :—

(1)—As Associates for this Meeting, and any other Meeting of the Society during the current year, for a payment of 10s. 6d. Associates are entitled to purchase the Annual Volume for 5s. 3d. (half the price of issue).

In the event of the holder of an Associate's ticket becoming a Member of the Society during the current year, his payment as an Associate will be allowed to count as his entrance fee to the Society.

(2)—Or, as Lady Members, on payment of 5s. Lady Members' tickets carry no privileges as regards the Annual Volume.

Payment for a LADY'S or an ASSOCIATE'S ticket for this Meeting entitles the holder to a corresponding ticket for the Summer Meeting at FAIRFORD on July 11th, 12th and 13th, and for any other General Meeting that may be held in 1911 free of charge.

APPLICATION FOR ELECTION as Life or Annual Members should be made to one of the Hon. Local Secretaries, the Hon. Secretary for Bristol, or to the Hon. General Secretary.

The Meetings of this Society are not in any sense Public Meetings, but are strictly limited to the Members and Associates of the Society ; *no one can attend without having previously paid the subscription for the current year and obtained a Member's or Associate's Ticket.* These tickets are *not transferable under any circumstances.*

TICKETS.

Members who propose to attend the BRISTOL Meeting should apply to the Hon. General Treasurer, J. A. SMITHIN, Esq., LLOYDS' BANK, GLOUCESTER, for a **Member's Ticket,** if they have not already obtained one, **as it will be asked for.**

A form of application for Associates' and Lady Members' tickets is enclosed, and for all other tickets required for this meeting. This should be filled in and sent to

LEWIS WAY, Esq.,
15 Caledonia Place,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,

together with postal orders or cheques (made payable to him) not later than **Friday, May 26th. It must be understood that the carriage and lunch accommodation is limited, and that Members coming without tickets will not obtain seats.**

Representatives of the Press will be welcome as Honorary Associates, provided they fill up the application form and send it to Mr. Way, together with a remittance for carriage and lunch tickets, on or before **Friday, May 26th.** No arrangement can be made for them otherwise.

All Tickets will be numbered, and will entitle the holders to seats in carriages and at lunch in **order of issue.**

RAILWAY TIME TABLE.

	Departure.		Arrival.
Cheltenham ..	8 49	Bristol	10 5
Gloucester ..	9 5	Bristol	10 5
Oxford	7 5	Bristol	10 15
Cirencester ..	8 5	Bristol	10 15

RETURN JOURNEY.

The carriages will reach Bristol Station at 6.35 p.m. in time to catch the North train leaving at 7.0 p.m., which arrives at Gloucester 8.6 and Cheltenham 8.26.

Trains for Oxford leave Bristol Station at 5.52 and 7.25, and for Cirencester at 5.52 and 6.20.

Those who desire to catch any of these trains should communicate with Mr. Way.

All Railway Companies concerned will issue return tickets at a fare and a quarter (with a minimum fare of one shilling) to the holders of Railway certificates, which can be obtained from Mr. Way.

PAPERS.

The Council invites the contribution of original papers, communications from unpublished records, etc., relating to the places to be visited at this Meeting, and to the County generally.

These papers may be addressed to the Editor, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., Banwell Vicarage, R.S.O., Somerset; and such as are suitable will be printed, either in whole or in part, in the Annual Volume of the Society's *Transactions*.

THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

The following Works, printed for the Society, may be purchased by Members at the following rates :—

The Lives of the Berkeleys, 2 Vols. demy 4to *The Hundred of Berkeley*, 1 Vol. demy 4to	Half-price : £1 10s. for a limited time only.
An Analysis of the Domesday Book of Gloucestershire, 8vo...	7s. 6d.
Abstract of the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills, 8vo.	7s. 6d.
General Index to Volumes I to XX, 1876–97, 8vo...	7s. 6d.
The Church Plate of Gloucestershire (illustrated), royal 8vo.	15s. od.

Extra copies of *this Programme and a few copies of most of the earlier ones*, 1s. *each*.

The Society has purchased the *Winchcomb Landboc* from the Executors of the late Rev. David Royce, M.A., and is prepared to issue it at the original subscription price, postage free, in cloth covers :—

Volume I,	large paper (out of print).	
	small paper	10s.
Volume II,	large paper	20s.
	small paper	15s.

Copies of the prospectus may be had on application.

All inquiries relating to the Society's *Transactions* and other publications should be addressed to the Hon. Librarians, Eastgate, Gloucester.

Programme.

TUESDAY, 30TH MAY.

Carriages will be waiting at the Railway Station under the Clock Tower for the arrival of the Midland train, due 10.5 a.m., and the Great Western train, due 10.15 a.m.

10.20.—Carriages leave station.

10.25.—Arrive at ST. JOHN'S HERMITAGE, to be viewed by kind permission of the Society of Friends.

10.40.—Leave HERMITAGE.

10.45.—Arrive at ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, where the Members will be received by the Vicar, the Rev. W. Mann, M.A.

11.10.—Leave ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH.

11.20.—Arrive at ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH, where the Members will be received by the Rector, the Rev. M. E. Thorold, M.A.

Mr. C. F. W. Dening will describe the building.

11.45.—Leave ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH.

11.50.—Arrive at TRINITY ALMSHOUSE CHAPEL, where Mr. W. A. Sampson will read a few notes.

12.5.—Leave TRINITY CHAPEL.

12.20.—Arrive at ST. MARK'S, or LORD MAYOR'S CHAPEL, where the Members will be received by the Lord Mayor of Bristol (Christopher A. Hayes, Esq.).

The Rev. C. S. Taylor, F.S.A., will describe the building, and Miss Roper the tombs.

12.45.—Leave ST. MARK'S CHAPEL.

1.0.—LUNCH at ROYAL HOTEL, COLLEGE GREEN.

2.0.—Carriages leave Hotel for HENBURY.

2.40.—Arrive at DRUID STOKE to view the ancient Cromlech.

2.50.—Leave DRUID STOKE.

3.10.—Reach PENPOLE POINT.

3.15.—By the kind permission of P. Napier Miles, Esq., J.P., the Members will drive through the grounds of KING'S WESTON HOUSE.

3.30.—Leave King's Weston.

3.40.—Carriages will stop at Blaize Gate. Members can walk up through the woods to the Castle, and by kind permission of Mrs. Harford, may ascend the Tower, whence fine panoramic views may be obtained; thence stroll through the woods to Blaize Castle Gardens, where Mr. Lewis Way, F.S.A., will read a short paper on the old Manor House of Henbury.

4.30.—Afternoon Tea at Henbury Awdlett, by the kind invitation of Maj.-Gen. Sampson-Way, C.B.

5.35.—Carriages leave for Railway Station.

6.35.—Arrival at Bristol Station.

Archæological and Historical Notes.

St. John's Hermitage is situated at the top of the small burial-ground in Redcliff Pit, belonging to the Society of Friends, acquired by that body and conveyed to them by deed dated March 22nd, 1665–6.

It was founded in 1347 by Thomas, Lord Berkeley, and the site probably formed part of the premises of the Hospital of St. John, which was in existence in 1243, when it received a charter from the Prebendary of Bedminster.

The cell, which is cut out of the solid red cliff, is entered through what is considered to be the original fourteenth-century archway, and two roughly-hewn seats are still to be seen within. The mural tablet inside simply indicates the burial of a Quaker in 1669.

The earliest gravestone in this old Bristol burial-ground is now built into the south wall close to the Hermitage, and records the death of John Pope, "ye son of ye widow Pope," in 1701; another lying on the green sward is that of Edward Harford, who died in 1705.

See Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 337.

Church of St. Thomas the Martyr.—As fragments of Norman work exist in the walls, this church must have been founded between 1170 and the end of the century. It derives its title from the great Archbishop of Canterbury, no doubt to some extent because his name appeared as Chancellor on the earliest charter of Bristol. Of the old church destroyed in 1789, which was second only to St. Mary Redcliff in size and beauty, only the tower, which has recently been well restored, remains. The present classic church, opened in 1793, is a good example of its style. The altar-piece (1716), the organ gallery and case (1732), and the oak pews (1752), cut down and made into open seats, are good specimens of eighteenth-century woodwork. The chancel screens were set up in 1879. In the old church the elder William Canynges and his son, John Canynges, ancestors of George Canning and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, were buried, and Sir William Penn, father of the founder of Pennsylvania was baptised.

Members will inspect the *Communion Plate*, consisting of Paten, Chalice, Flagons, Candlesticks, etc.

A *manuscript Vulgate*, probably written early in the fifteenth century, folio size on parchment, double columns, illuminated margin representing the work of the six days

ST. JOHN'S HERMITAGE, BRISTOL.

of creation. At the Reformation this was preserved by Michael Sowdley, and restored to the church. He was churchwarden and sheriff of the city in 1561.

Four Enamelled Candlesticks, two 12½ in. high, and two others 6¾ in. high, all formed of copper and originally gilt. These are supposed to be early thirteenth century, and probably Limoges. (See *Transactions*, vol. iii., plate 3, coloured.)

Ancient deeds from 1294 to 1632.

Oldest register, 1553.

Vestry seal, 1566.

Agreement of John Harris, of London, to build organ, 1728. Handel played on this organ 1743–7, and composed his oratorio *Judas Maccabæus* there.

Carved bosses from old church.

See paper on "The Old Church of St. Thomas," *Transactions*, vol. xxvii., p. 340, with illustrations of bosses.

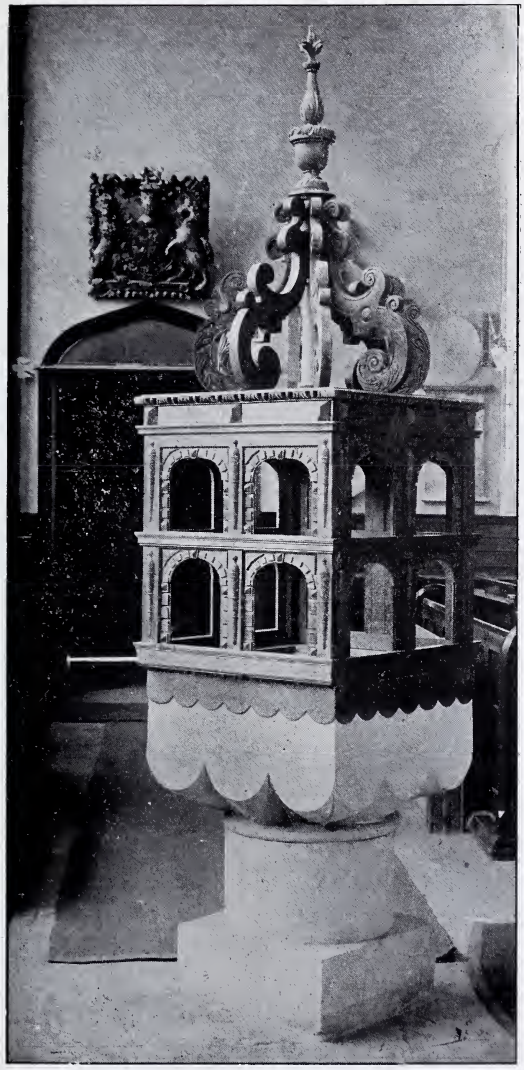
Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob.—The plan of this edifice consists of a chancel with an aisle on the north, a tower and a vestry on the south side, a nave with north and south aisles, the latter having adjuncts formerly used for staircases to the galleries, which were erected early in the nineteenth century. The introduction of these necessitated the raising of the aisle walls, and the nave arcades were utterly ruined by removing the intermediate piers and substituting arches of a large span.

The tower (with the exception of the top story, which is debased Perpendicular) is Early English, and was undoubtedly a very fine example of the period. The remains of the vaulting to what was probably the principal entrance of the church justify a visit to this building. It is to be hoped that before long the work of restoring this and opening up the beautiful archway into the chancel will be put in hand, especially as there is so little of the work of this period in Bristol.

The north aisle of the chancel, known as Kemys' aisle, is worthy of study on account of its proportions. The thirteenth-century archway connecting this with the nave aisle, and also a similar archway in the west wall of the tower, show the character of the Early English work to be of a refined nature.

The Jacobean pulpit calls for attention, and the font cover, dated 1623, recently restored, is a very fine example.

It is believed that the plaster ceiling to the chancel and Kemys' aisle conceals open timber roofs, similar to that spanning the nave.



FONT AT ST. PHILIP AND ST. JACOB CHURCH, BRISTOL.

If one desires an example of the period when Art was at its lowest ebb, then certainly the nave and aisles of this building should satisfy the most exacting.

The *Monuments* comprise a portion of an effigy that shows a fine example of the heavy armour worn during the Wars of the Roses, made to withstand blows from lances and from bullets. Its date would be about 1470, but the figure is unidentified, and the form of the coronet does not belong to any order of nobility. The mural monument is to Henry Merrett, Sheriff of Bristol in 1676.

There is also a Norman coffin slab.

The Communion Plate dates from the period of Charles II, and the Registers from 1575.

See *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 23; *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 233; Pryce's *Middle Ages in Bristol*, p. 208; for Effigies see *Transactions*, vol. xxvii., p. 98.

Trinity Hospital Chapel and Almshouse.—The actual date of the foundation is unknown, but it must have been before the end of the fourteenth century. The founder was John Barstaple. He provided twelve chambers and twelve gardens for six poor men and six poor women, together with a priest to officiate in the chapel. His wife is said to have founded the almshouse on the north side of the street. She died about 1412, soon after her husband, who died in October, 1411. They were buried on the right and left side of the high altar in the chapel, which contained two brasses to their memory.

The chapel formerly stood on the opposite side of the quadrangle, and was removed in 1881 owing to its dilapidated condition, and because the site was required for the purpose of widening the street.

In that year the bodies of the founders were re-interred, by order of the Charity Trustees, in a brick grave under the pavement in front of the chancel step. Two Portland stone slabs were then laid, one over the grave, and the other in the corresponding position on the other side of the chapel.

The ancient detached brasses were inserted, with the addition of new canopies.

The inscriptions translated are as follows:—

"Here lies John Barstaple, burgess of the town of Bristol, founder of this place, who died 15th kalends of October, the Dominical letter D., 1411, on whose soul may God be merciful. Amen."

"Here lies Isabella wife of John Barstaple, who died in the year of our Lord 14 . . . the dominical letter

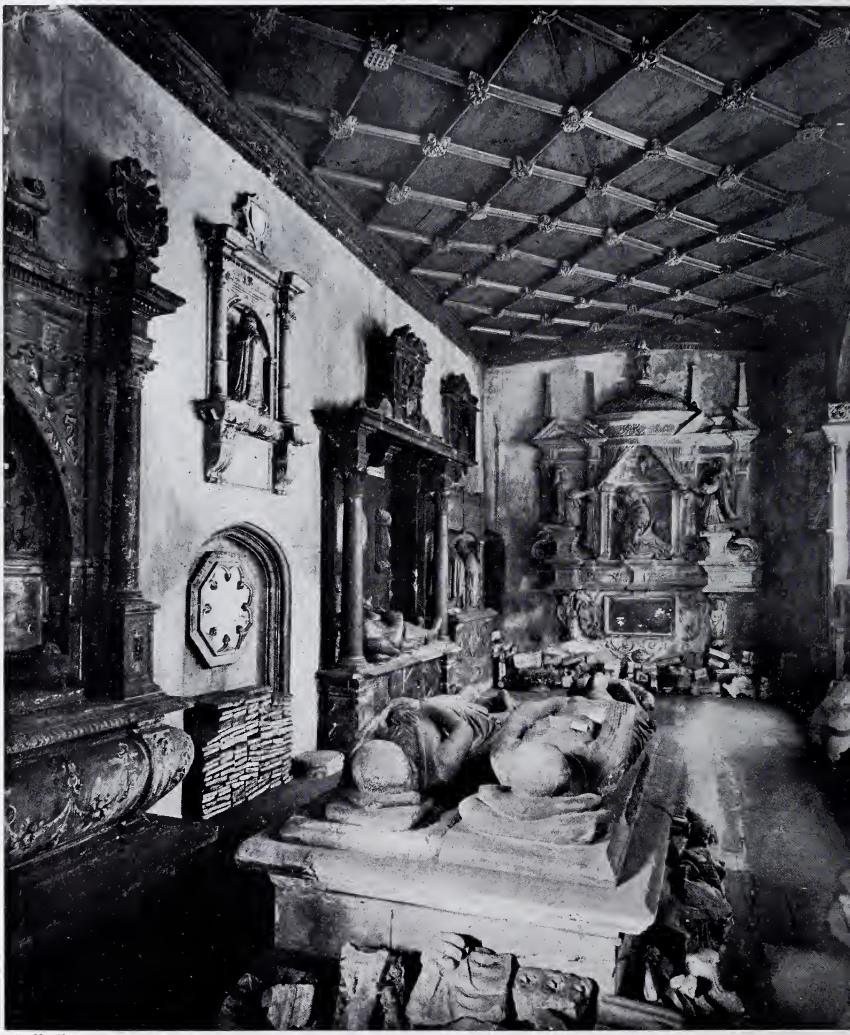
being . . . on whose soul may God have pity. Amen."

See *Transactions*, vol. xxxii., p. 91 ; *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, "Monumental Brasses," p. 28 ; Wadley's *Wills*, p. 86.

Mr. Way will exhibit (by kind permission of Lady Smyth) a licence in mortmain to John Barstaple and others from Henry IV, dated 1411.

TRINITY HOSPITAL CHAPEL, BRISTOL.
BARSTAPLE BRASSES.

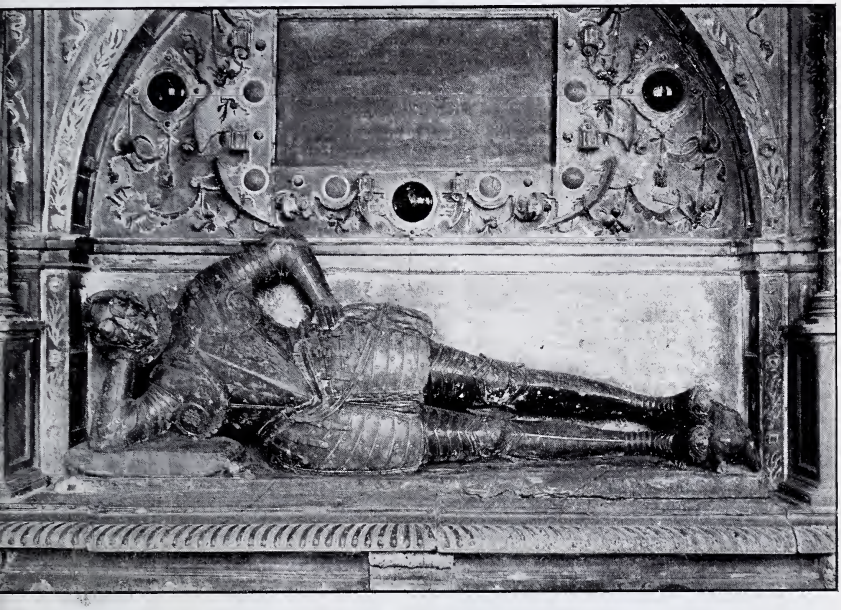
St. Mark's, or the Lord Mayor's Chapel, stands opposite to the Cathedral in College Green, embedded amongst houses. It was the church of a college of Bons Hommes, and was founded before 1229 by Maurice de Gaunt ; a fragment of a winged lion of St. Mark, at the corner of Frogmore



C. H. Horton, Photo, Bristol.

ST. MARK'S OR LORD MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL.
THE GAUNT'S CHAPEL.

Street and Pipe Lane behind Colston Hall, still marks the extent of its property. The main walls of the original church are still standing with their grotesque corbels, and the tower was completed in 1487. The fine oak roof is worthy of notice. The altar-piece is said to have been set up by Miles Salley, Bishop of Llandaff, who died in 1516, and who is buried on the left side of the chancel. The Jesus or Poyntz Chapel is a fine example of late Perpendicular work, with its fan-traceried roof, and floor laid with early Spanish tiles. Sir Robert Poyntz, who built it, was buried therein



ST. MARK'S OR LORD MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL.
THE UPTON TOMB.

in 1520. After the Dissolution the church became the property of the Corporation, and was used as a burying-place for civic dignitaries, many of whose monuments still remain. The illustration shows the south aisle chapel, or Gaunt's Chapel, and contains amongst other effigies that of Henry de Gaunt, first master of the hospital, who died in 1268. A window representing St. Thomas of Canterbury came, with other glass in the Jesus Chapel and south aisle, from Fonthill.

After the Reformation the church was used for some time by French Protestant refugees, but in 1721 it became the

official place of worship of the Mayor and Corporation, and Divine Service is regularly celebrated by a chaplain appointed by the Lord Mayor. The Assize sermons are also preached here.

The interesting *Effigies* are the two fine Purbeck figures in chain mail ; two members of the Berkeley family ; Bishop Salley, the restorer of the church early in the sixteenth century ; an early Bristol merchant ; several of later date and some important citizens. The illustration represents George Upton, died 1608, in court armour, and the heraldry proves his connection with the present family at Ingmire Hall, Westmoreland, and locally with Ashton Court.

This church stands nearly north and south instead of east and west.

See *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 241 ; Barker's *History of St. Mark's, or the Mayor's Chapel* (illustrated), 1892.

For the Berkeley Effigies see *Transactions*, vol. xv., p. 89 ; Monumental Effigies, see *Transactions*, vol. xxvi., p. 252.

Druid Stoke.—Seyer considers this not a *cromlech*, but an upright stone standing in front of three smaller ones ; it would be well to get a verdict whether this is right or not. Nicholls and Taylor (p. 13) say it was a tablestone resting on four pillars ; two of these at the east end are *in situ*, but partially buried and almost flat ; another to the south is shown in the photograph, over which the tablestone has

AT DRUID STOKE, NEAR BRISTOL

slipped, but its companion on the north has disappeared, though it may be one which has been discovered lately in the middle which has not been excavated. Unfortunately the ownership is in private hands, and until the property can be vested in the Bristol Corporation and our Society, no satisfactory care or restoration of it can be expected.

See Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i., p. 103, and illustration; *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 13.

KING'S WESTON HOUSE was for many generations the abode of the Southwells, the immediate ancestors of the late Lord de Clifford, the last of the family who resided here. It was erected from a design of Sir John Vanbrugh, and is one of his best, though smaller, works, there being more simplicity, and less affectation than in many other of his buildings. The house is greatly admired for the effect produced by its chimneys, which are connected by an arcade in the centre of the roof.

It was here—but in the older house which stood on this site—that William III stayed the night of 6th September, 1690, having landed at King-road on his return from Duncannon. The King's visit to the City of Bristol is described by Mr. Latimer in *17th Century Annals*, page 459. His host at King's Weston was Sir Robert Southwell, who died there in 1702, and was buried at Henbury. His son Edward built the present mansion, and the following letter from the eminent architect to Southwell, which proves the date of erection, is most interesting:—

"*Re* KING'S WESTON HOUSE.

"CASTLE HOWARD,

"*Oct. 23rd*, 1713.

"SIR,

"I acquainted you some time since I had read with much pleasure the letter you enclosed to me which you had received from Mrs. Henley. I am since obliged with yours from King's Weston of the 13th inst., being much pleased with the house being quite covered in so good season, for, if the weather is with you as in the North, your walls must have dryed almost as fast as they went up, and there being no great rain to soak them whilst they were open, the house will be dry a year the sooner for it. In my last I told you I wished you would not go up with the chimneys till I was with you on the spot, to make tryall of the heights with boards. I am glad to find you now of the same oppinion, though you had not yet received my letter;

for I would fain have that part rightly hit off. I likewise think you in the right to clear off the scaffolds, tho' there be more difficulty in getting up the stones for the chimneys.

"As to the objections you mention, I can only say, I cannot think as you do, tho' it may be I am wrong. As to the Door being too little, if an Alteration be necessary, I can show you how to do it; but of these particulars, 'tis better to talk than to write. I hope, however, at last I shall see you as well pleased as the Lord (Charles, 3rd Earl of Carlisle) of this place is; who has now within this week had a fair tryall of his dwelling, in what he most apprehended which was cold. For tho' we have now had as bitter storms as rain and wind can well compose, every corner in the house is an oven, and in corridors of 200 feet long there is not air enough in motion to stir the flame of a candle. I hope to find the same comfort in your chatteau, when the North-West blows his hardest; so pray don't think you shall stand in need of a few poor trees to screen you. The post will be gone if I say anything now, than that I am most heartily your humble servant,

"J. VANBRUGH.

"*To* EDWARD SOUTHWELL, Esqr.,
"King's Weston, nr. Bristol."

THE ORIGINAL MANOR HOUSE OF HENBURY.—Close to the dairy in Blaize Castle garden in former days stood the Manor House of the parish; it is possible that the dairy formed part of its offices. The earliest mention of the Manor House is contained in a deed dated October 7th, 1653, by which Ralph Sadleir leased the Capital Messuage or site of the Manor House to Edward Capell, merchant of Bristol, on lives. After passing into the possession of various persons whose names I need not enumerate, it was purchased by Sir Samuel Astry, Knight, Clerk of the Crown in the Court of King's Bench in or about the year 1694. He already possessed a large estate in the parish, and had built for himself the Great House near at hand. At Sir Samuel's death in 1704 his estate passed to his wife Elizabeth, a Henbury heiress, who married secondly, in 1707, Simon Harcourt, Esq., of Pendley, in Worcestershire, Master of the Crown Office. Dying in 1708, she was succeeded by her three daughters by Sir Samuel Astry—Elizabeth (Lady Smyth), Diana (Mrs. Orlebar), and Arabella (Countess of Suffolk and Bindon). The Manor House passed to Lady Smyth, at whose death in

1715 it became the property of her husband, Sir John Smyth, Bart., who left it to his eldest son, Sir John Smyth, Bart., the younger, in 1726. Sir John's eldest unmarried sister, Miss Anne Smyth, rented it from 1730 to her brother's death in 1741, when it became her own property. Here she died in 1760, leaving it to her nephew, Edward Gore, Esq., who sold it in 1762 to Thomas Farr, a rich merchant of Bristol, who built the famous Castle on Blaize Hill. Falling on evil days in twelve years' time, he sold it to Denham Skeate, of Bath, who in 1789 sold it to John Scandrett Harford, Esq., who built the present mansion in 1798, pulling down the old Manor House on its completion. The property still remains in the Harford family.

For Blaize see *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 14.
For Henbury Church see *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 16.

In preparing these notes, I have received kind help from the Revs. C. S. Taylor, W. Mann, and M. E. Thorold; from Mr. Sampson, Mr. Charles Wells, and Mr. Lewis Way; and as usual from Miss Roper. The illustrations of St. Philip's Font and the Upton Tomb are from the negatives of our member Mr. William Moline. To all I desire to record my thanks. I wish also to thank Mr. Horton, photographer, of Christmas Steps, for the loan of his fine interior of the "Gaunt's Chapel."

John E. Pritchard.

J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., Printers, Quay Street, Bristol.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.

President:
Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D.,
Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

President of Council:
Rev. Canon W. Bazeley, M.A.

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J. A. Smithin, Esq., Lloyds Bank, Gloucester.

Hon. Secretary for Bristol:
Lewis J. U. Way, Esq., F.S.A., 15 Caledonia Place, Clifton, Bristol.

Hon. Local Secretary for Oxford:
T. Gambier Parry, Esq., 9 King Edward Street, Oxford.

Hon. General Secretary:
Arnold E. Hurry, Esq., Hempsted Court, Gloucester.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS, PROGRAMME,

AND

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

FOR THE

ANNUAL SUMMER MEETING

AT

FAIRFORD AND OXFORD,

July 11th, 12th, & 13th, 1911.

ADMISSION TO THE SOCIETY AND TO THE ANNUAL MEETINGS.

Those who are desirous of joining the Society can be admitted after election by the Council on the following conditions :—

I.—As Life Members, for a composition of £7 17s. 6d. (entrance fee, 10/6; life payment, Seven Guineas), which entitles them to receive gratuitously for life the Annual Volumes of the Society that may be issued after the date of payment.

II.—As Annual Members, for the payment of £1 1s. (entrance fee, 10/6; annual payment, 10/6). These receive gratuitously the Annual Volume of the Society for the year of admission, and for every following year in which they continue to pay without intermission a subscription of 10/6.

Or, on introduction by a Member :—

(1)—As Associates for this Meeting, and any other Meeting of the Society during the current year, for a payment of 10/6. Associates are entitled to purchase the Annual Volume for 5/3 [half the price of issue].

In the event of the holder of an Associate's ticket becoming a Member of the Society during the current year, his payment as an Associate will be allowed to count as his entrance fee to the Society.

(2)—Or, as Lady Members, on payment of 5/-. Lady Members' tickets carry no privileges as regards the Annual Volume.

Payment for a Ladies' or Associates' ticket for this Meeting entitles the holder to a corresponding ticket for any other General Meeting that may be held in 1911, free of charge.

Application for Election as Life or Annual Members should be made to one of the Hon. Local Secretaries, the Hon. Secretary for Bristol, or to the Hon. General Secretary.

The Meetings of this Society are not in any sense Public Meetings, but are strictly limited to the Members and Associates of the Society; *no one can attend without having previously paid the subscription for the current year and obtained a Member's or Associate's Ticket.* These tickets are *not under any circumstances transferable.*

TICKETS.

Members who propose to attend the Fairford and Oxford Meeting should apply to the Hon. General Treasurer, J. A. Smithin, Esq., Lloyds Bank, Gloucester, for a Member's Ticket, if they have not already obtained one, **as it will be asked for.**

A form of application is enclosed for Associates' and Lady Members' tickets, and for all others required. This should be filled in and sent to

Arnold E. Hurry, Esq.,
Hempsted Court,
Gloucester,

together with postal orders or cheques made payable to him not later than **Friday, July 7th. It must be understood that the carriage and lunch accommodation is limited, and that Members coming without tickets will not obtain seats.**

Representatives of the Press will be welcome as Honorary Associates, provided they fill up the application form and send it to Mr. Hurry, together with a remittance for carriage and lunch tickets on or before **Friday, July 7th.** No arrangement can be made for them otherwise.

All Tickets will be numbered and will entitle the holders to seats in carriages and at lunch in **order of issue.**

RAILWAY ARRANGEMENTS.

G.W.R.	Bristol (Temple Meads) ..	*dep.*	7.45 a.m. ..	9.35 a.m.
	Oxford	*arr.*	9.57 ..	12.12 p.m.
	Gloucester (*viâ* Didcot) ..	*dep.*	7.40 a.m. ..	9.42 a.m.
	Oxford	*arr.*	9.57 ..	12.12 p.m.
	Gloucester (*viâ* Kingham) ..	*dep.*	9.48 a.m.	
	Cheltenham	,,	10.14	
	Oxford	*arr.*	12.45 p.m.	

Omnibuses will meet all trains (fare, 6d. each person).

The Midland and Great Western Railway Companies will issue return tickets at a fare and a quarter for the double journey on Monday, July 11th, and three following days, available to July 14th (with a minimum fare of one shilling) to the holders of Railway certificates, which can be obtained from Mr. Hurry.

It is understood that return tickets *viâ* Didcot may be used for the return journey *viâ* Kingham without extra charge; and that return tickets *viâ* Kingham may be used for the return journey *viâ* Didcot on payment of a small additional sum.

HOTEL ARRANGEMENTS.

The Headquarters of the Society will be at the Oxenford Hall, 15 Magdalen Street, Oxford. Application for rooms should be made direct to the Manageress.

Tariff.

Bedroom (including light & attendance) & Breakfast ...	3/6 to 5/6 (according to the room).
Bedroom (as above) with Breakfast and Dinner ...	6/- to 7/6 (according to the room).
Dinner alone	2/6

The Manageress has undertaken to obtain accommodation on similar terms for Members for whom there may not be room in the Oxenford Hall itself.

A limited number of rooms can be had at reasonable charges at the *Hotel and Restaurant Buol*, 21 Cornmarket Street; also at *Oriel House, 9 King Edward Street, Oxford.*

Members desiring accommodation at an Hotel should apply direct to one of the Oxford Hotels (Mitre, Randolph, Clarendon, Roebuck, Golden Cross, Eastgate, &c.)

The Honorary Local Secretary, Mr. Gambier Parry, 9 King Edward Street, Oxford, will be glad to help any Members in difficulty about lodgings or other accommodation.

PAPERS.

The Council invites the contribution of original papers, communications from unpublished records, &c., relating to the places to be visited at this Meeting, and to the County generally.

These papers may be addressed to the Editor, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., Banwell Vicarage, R.S.O., Somerset; and such as are suitable will be printed, either in whole or in part, in the Annual Volume of the Society's *Transactions.*

THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

The following Works, printed for the Society, may be purchased by Members at the following rates:—

The Lives of the Berkeleys, 2 Vols. demy 4to. *The Hundred of Berkeley*, 1 Vol. demy 4to.	Half-price: £1 10 0 for a limited time only.
An Analysis of the Domesday Book of Gloucestershire, 8vo.	7/6.
Abstract of the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills, 8vo.	7/6.
General Index to Volumes I. to XX., 1876—1897, 8vo.	7/6.

Extra copies of *this Programme and a few copies of most of the earlier ones may obtained at the price of 1/- each.*

The Society has purchased the *Winchcombe Landboc* from the Executors of the late Reverend David Royce, M.A., and are prepared to issue it at the original subscription price, postage free, in cloth covers:—

Volume I.,	large paper (out of print).		
	small paper	... ...	10/-
Volume II.,	large paper	... ...	20/-
	small paper	... ...	15/-

Copies of the prospectus may be had on application.

The Church Plate of Gloucestershire (illustrated) ... 15/-

All enquiries relating to the Society's *Transactions* and other publications should be addressed to the Hon. Librarians, Eastgate, Gloucester.

PROGRAMME.

Tuesday, July 11th.

1 p.m. Lunch at Hotel and Restaurant Buol, 21 Cornmarket Street, Oxford. Tickets 2/6 each.

2.15 p.m. The Inaugural Meeting will be held in St. John's College Hall (by kind permission of the President and Fellows), under the presidency of Dr. T. H. Warren, President of Magdalen College and President of the Society. The Report of Council will be read and Officers elected. The Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D. (Archdeacon-elect of Northampton), will be introduced as the new President by Dr. Warren, and will read his Presidential Address.

3.15 p.m. The Members will visit Iffley (the Rev. M. R. Newbolt, B.A., Vicar). Mr. J. Parker hopes to meet us and make some remarks on the Architecture. They will then proceed to Nuneham, where afternoon Tea will be arranged for.

7.30 p.m. Annual Dinner at Hotel and Restaurant Buol, 21 Cornmarket Street. Tickets 3/6 each.

9 p.m. Reception in the Hall of Magdalen College, by the outgoing President (Dr. T. H. Warren). Mr. F. Madan (of the Bodleian Library) will read a Paper on "*Gloucester College in Oxford*" (now Worcester College). Dr. Warren will also give an Address.

WEDNESDAY, 12TH JULY.

8.15 a.m. Breakfast at Oxenford Hall, &c., &c.

9.20 a.m. Leave **G.W.R.** Station for Witney.

9.50 a.m. Arrive at Witney. Carriages will await the Members at the Station. Tickets 3/- each.

10 a.m. Leave Witney for Minster Lovell Church, where the Party will be received by the Vicar, the Rev. J. K. Smith, M.A., and visit the Castle.

11 a.m. Leave for Swinbrook and Widford (the Rev. F. S. Foster, Vicar and Rector).

12 noon. Leave Widford for Burford Church, which will be visited under the guidance of the Rev. Wm. C. Emeris, M.A. (Rector).

1.15 p.m. Luncheon at the Falkland Hall. Tickets 2/6 each.

2.15 p.m. Col. de Sales La Terrière will kindly receive the Members at The Priory.

3 p.m. The carriages will leave Burford for Williamstrip Park, by kind invitation of Mrs. Allfrey, who will offer Afternoon Tea.

4.45 p.m. Leave for Fairford Church, where the Rev. Canon Carbonell, M.A., will receive the party and describe the Windows, &c.

6.15 p.m. *(punctually)*. Leave for Fairford Railway Station.

6.35 p.m. Train leaves for Oxford.

Members will make their own arrangements for Dinner.

THURSDAY, 13TH JULY.

9.30 a.m. The Members will visit some of the Oxford Colleges and Churches, in two parties, under the guidance of the President of the Society and of Professor Oman, respectively.

(*a*) Mr. Hutton's party will meet at 9.30 a.m. at St. John's College and thence visit New College, St. Peter's in the East, Magdalen College, and Christ Church, reaching All Souls at 12.30.

(*b*) Professor Oman's party will meet at The Martyrs' Memorial at 9.30 a.m., and visit Balliol, Exeter, Divinity Schools, Wadham, University College, and the University Church, reaching All Souls at 12.30.

(Some Notes on places to be visited by Mr. Hutton's Party will be found in *Transactions*, Vol. XXXIII., Part I., and also in the Oxford Programme of 1910.

Lunch. Members will make their own arrangements for Luncheon.

2 p.m. Members will be received at the Ashmolean Museum (close to the Randolph Hotel) by the Keeper (Mr. D. G. Hogarth). *The Saxon Antiquities found in the Fairford Graves in 1852 will be of special interest to Members of this Society.*

2.15 p.m. Members preferring to visit the new Museum, opposite Keble College, will be received by the Curator, Mr. Henry Balfour.

G.W.R. Trains leave Oxford for Bristol and Gloucester at 2.48 and 5.57; and for Cheltenham and Gloucester (*viâ* Kingham) at 2.25, 3.44, and 7.36.

Historical and Archaeological Notes.

IFFLEY.

St. Mary's Church, Iffley.

Lent by Messrs. Parker.

The Church of St. Mary, Iffley, consists of a nave, low central tower, and chancel.

All the church, except the easternmost bay, is Norman work of the 12th century, and is amongst the finest examples of the architecture of that period.

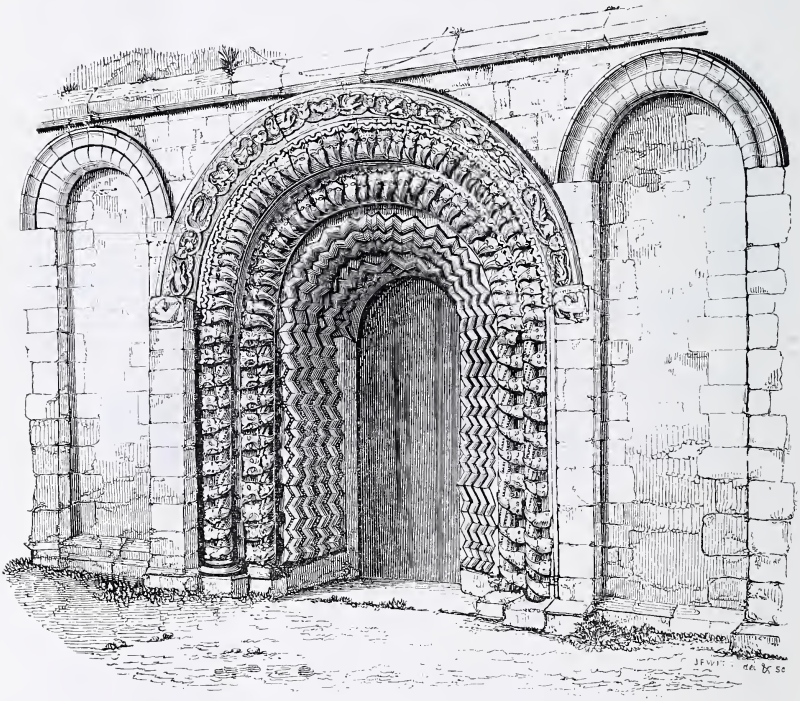
The west front contains a deeply recessed doorway, the outer moulding of which is enriched with figures representing the Signs of the Zodiac, with birds, winged lions, and cherubim, the next two with beak-heads, and the inner moulding with zig-zags only. There are no shafts or capitals. The circular window is of recent construction.

The south doorway contains an arch of four orders of mouldings, the two middle orders springing from shafts with carved capitals. The inner order is ornamented with flowers and birds, and the second and fourth with zig-zags. One of the capitals represents a mounted archer (*sagittarius*), which is said to have been a badge of King Stephen.

The tower arches are richly decorated.

The corbel table is specially worthy of attention.

The chancel was originally apsidal, and consisted of one bay only, with stone groined vaulting. Late in the 13th century, the east end was taken down, and the present Early English bay was added.



West front of Iffley Church.

Lent by Messrs. Parker.

Most of the Norman windows have had tracery inserted in them, those in the chancel in the time of Edward I. or II., and the nave windows in the 15th or 16th century. The west window remains in its original condition.

The Manor of Iffley was given by Juliana de St. Remi to the monks of Kenilworth in the reign of Henry II., and they probably built the church about 1160.

NUNEHAM COURTENAY.

The Manor of Nuneham, at the time of the Survey, belonged to Richard de Curci, and later on to the Redvers, (de Ripariis). Mary, daughter of William Redvers, Earl of Devon, married

Robert de Courtenay in 1214. It is assumed that they held this manor and gave it its second name. It passed through various hands till it came by marriage to David, Earl of Wemyss; and he sold it in 1710, to Simon, Lord Harcourt, Lord Chancellor. He destroyed the old village, which lay near the manor house, and rebuilt it near the high road. His grandson, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was created Earl Harcourt, but the title died out with the third Earl. The Nuneham estate then came to Edward Vernon, Archbishop of York, who took his mother's name of Harcourt; and from him to the present owner, the Right Hon. Lewis Vernon Harcourt.

We shall enjoy an hour in the beautiful park, with its fine oaks and elms: and examine with interest the old Carfax conduit presented to Oxford by Otho Nicholson, Treasurer to James I., and passed on to Lord Harcourt by the citizens when they were tired of it. The old church was taken down in the 18th century and rebuilt.

MINSTER LOVEL.

This parish takes its present name from the Anglo-Saxon *mynster*, a monastery or monastic church, and from the Lovels, a family who came from Ivry in Normandy, and were lords of Kari (Castle Cary) and Harpetre in Somerset. Lovel is really a nick-name derived from *Lupellus*, a little wolf; hence the crest of the Lovels, a wolf sejant ermine. William of Ivri, the son of Ascetin Goel, who first bore this nick-name, was born about thirty years after the Norman Conquest, and from all we know of him he seems to have well deserved it.[1] He was the first of his name to be lord of Minster, and during the reign of King John his descendants gave the advowson of the church and some lands to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, Ivri, and a cell was founded here. Probably the eastern limb of the church was set apart for the monks, and dedicated afresh to St. Mary, whilst the parishioners retained the use of the nave, dedicated in earlier times to St. Kenelm. This cell was dissolved by Henry V. in 1414, and its possessions were leased to the Lovels.

In 1442 Henry VI. bestowed the advowson of the living and the endowments of the priory on his new foundation, Eton College, which retains them still.

The present church at first sight appears to be all of one date, the middle of the 15th century; but Mr. Brakspear has found traces of 14th century work in the lower part of the south and east walls of the south transept.[2]

The church is cruciform, having a nave, without aisles, a central tower, north and south transepts, and a chancel. The

[1] Planché's *The Conqueror and his Companions*, II., pp. 220-4.
[2] *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. LXVII., p. 390.

north porch and the crossing beneath the tower have stone-vaulted roofs. As the chancel, transepts, and nave are of different widths, the tower has been constructed so as to be independent of them all, and rests on four oblong piers with clustered columns and stone bench-tables. The pair of piers on the west are connected with the nave walls by two diagonal arches; and between the two eastern piers and the chancel walls are hagioscopes, or squints, through which the worshippers in the transepts can see the officiating priest standing in front of the altar.

Crossing, under the central tower, Minster Lovel.

Lent by Messrs. Parker.

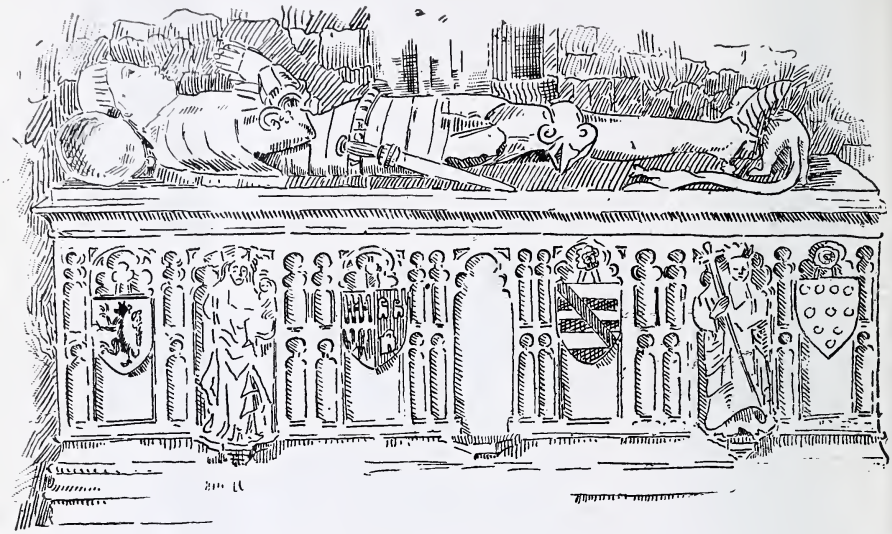
There is also a squint inserted diagonally in the north wall of the chancel, and a low window in the north-west corner of the vestry wall, evidently constructed for the same purpose. There has always been some doubt as to the use of these low windows: they have been thought to have been provided for the use of lepers, but leprosy was dying out in England in the middle of the 15th century. There was, I believe, a chantry

chapel dedicated to St. Cecilia in the churchyard. Perhaps it stood in the now vacant space between the north transept and the vestry, or possibly there was an anchorite's cell here as at Mickleton and elsewhere. In the south-east corner of the nave is a staircase which led to the tower and also to the rood loft. The pews are ancient. There is a good Perpendicular font with octagonal bowl and shaft. The reredos was given by Lady Taunton, widow of the lord of the manor, in 1878. There is some stained glass in the window, nearly as old as the church, with figures of Isaac, Daniel, St. Lucy, and St. Agnes, and the names and attributive arms of Edward the Confessor and Oswald, king and saint. Any credit that the church restorers of the middle of Queen Victoria's reign may deserve for their enthusiasm and generosity they will run the risk of forfeiting through their careless or wilful destruction of church furniture and historical ornaments. In 1868 the chancel screen, with its heraldic shields, was removed and probably destroyed. From Symonds and from Richard Lee's *Gatherings of Oxfordshire, 1574*, Harl. Soc., Vol. V., we learn that these bore *az., semée of fleur-de-lys, a lion rampant arg.* (Holland), *arg., a lion ramp. sa., crowned or* (Lord Burnell); *Barry nebulée of six or. and gu.* [Lovel] impaling *Barry of six arg. and az., a bend gu.* (Grey of Rotherfield); 4th (1) Lovell, (2) *Az., a fess dancettée between 10 billets* (Deincourt); (3) Grey; (4) Holland; over all on a shield of pretence *argent, a lion ramp. sable crowned or within a bordure azure* Burnell;[1] Lovel impaling Deincourt; *or, a fess between two chevrons sable* (? Lisle); *a buck's head cabossed argent* (?). Richard Symonds, in his *Diary of the marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War*, tells us that he saw in the east window of the chancel the upper part of a shield bearing *sa., two locks or* (Sydenham); and quarterly (1) gone; (2) *a chevron az. between three chaplets gules* (Holme); (3) *gules, a lion rampant ermine* (?); (4) *arg., a chevron between three lions passant sable* impaling *quarterly (1) sa., a chevron between three covered cups or* (Botiler); 2, 3, and 4 gone; and Lee gives 4th 1 and 4 *Fess nebulée* (? Lovell) 2 and 3 (Holland). There was, moreover, a collar of SS. (a Lancastrian badge), with portcullises and roses about it.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1825, in giving an account of Minster Lovel Church, mentions inscriptions to H. Powell, Vicar, Anna Clay, John Wheeler and his wife, and a splendid monument in the chancel to Henry Heylin. This last, I am told, was destroyed at the restoration of the church.

The most beautiful relic of the 15th century is the tomb of one of the last three Lord Lovels, presumably John, Lord Lovel, who died in 1465.

[1] *Shropshire His.*, p. 93, John Lovell=Maud sister and heir of Edward Burnett of Holgate. He died 1316 and she ? 1320.



Tomb of Lord Lovel.

Lent by Messrs. Constable.

On an altar tomb of alabaster reclines the effigy of a knight in the armour worn at the close of the reign of Henry VI. or the beginning of Edward IV., such indeed as was worn at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471. The hair is closely cropped, and the head which is uncovered rests on a tilting helm surmounted by the Lovel crest, (Lee says) *a wolf or*, or (Symonds says) *a dog*. The body is protected by pauldrons, elbow and knee plates, a skirt of laces with escalloped tuiles, gauntlets, etc. An ornamented baldric or belt passes round the waist, and the knight has a chain round his neck with a wolf's head. On his left side is a long sword and at his feet a lion.

The altar tomb has eight shields suspended from the centres of panels, four on each side, and two at the west end. On the north side of the tomb are two female weepers with the low-horned hairdress of the period (Symonds calls them bishops). At the west end is St. Christopher, and on the south side are Our Lady and the Holy Child and St. Margaret of Antioch piercing the dragon with the foot of her cross.

The heraldic bearings cannot be depended on as correct, for, previous to the time of their restoration by Lord Egmont, the shields are said to have been quite black. The restored bearings may be compared with the descriptions given by Richard Lee, 1574, and Richard Symonds, 1644. North side:—I. Quarterly (1) Lovel, (2) Sydenham, (3) Grey of Rotherfield, and (4) Zouch *gules, 10 bezants 4, 3, 2, & 1.* Symonds says (1 & 4) Lovel, (2)

Sydenham, and (3) *2 bars debruised by a bend*=(? Mountford). II. Quarterly of six: (1) Lovell, (2) Deincourt, (3) Holland, (4) Grey of Rotherfield, (5) Burnel, (6) Per fess Sydenham and Zouch. Symonds says II. (1) Lovel, (2) Deincourt, (3) gone, (4) *Two bars debruised by a bend*, (5) gone, (6) same as (1). III. same as II. IV. Sydenham. West end:—V. Lovel. VI. Sydenham. South side:—VII. Burnell. VIII. Lovel impaling Sydenham. IX. Grey of Rotherfield. X. Zouch.

The following marriages of the heads of the Lovel family are mentioned by Dugdale and Sir T. C. Banks:—

John Lovel of Mynster d. 15 Ed. I.=Maud d. & h. of—Sydenham.

John Lovel s. & h. d. 4 Ed. II.=Isabel de Bois and Joan d. of Lord Ross.

John Lovel s. & h., d. 3 Ed. II.=Maude sister & h. of Edward, Lord Burnel.

John Lovel d. 21 Ed. III.=Isabel ? d. of William, Lord Zouche.

[John Lovel, s. & h. d. 35 Ed. III. s. p. aged 19.]

John Lovel b. & h. d. 9 Hen. IV.=Maud d. of Robert, Lord Holland.

John Lovel, s. & h., d. 2 Hen. V.=Alianora, d. of William, Lord Zouch.

William Lovel s. & h. d. 33 Hen. VI.=Alice sister & cou. of Wm. Lord Deincourt, by Joan, d. & h. of Robert, Lord Grey, of Rotherfield.

John Lovel, s. & h., d. 4 Ed. IV.=Joan, sister of Wm. Visc. Beaumont.

Francis Lovel, created Viscount Lovel, I. Rich. III., said to have been slain at the battle of Stoke, 3 Hen. VII., d. s. p.

The manor house of the Lovel family, built about the same time as the church, after the destruction of the priory, early in 15th century, is in ruins. It retains the four walls of the hall, which was lighted by two large windows on the south side and two smaller ones high up on the north wall. The hall was entered by a porch, vaulted in two bays. At one end of the hall were the kitchens, and at the other a chamber with a fine fire-place. From this a range of buildings ran westward, ending with a fine tower. The house was figured by Buck, and again by Skelton, A.D. 1823. It was dismantled about 1730. and some of the materials were used for the roof of Ducklington Rectory. In the 18th century a secret chamber was discovered in the manor house, in which was a skeleton seated at a table. This was thought to be Viscount Lovel, who ended his career as an adherent of the impostor, Lambert Simuel. Perhaps he fled from the battle of Stoke to his own house, and was imprisoned here by some misadventure. Minster Lovel is also said to have been the scene of "the mistletoe bough" and the death of the beautiful lady in the old oak chest.

Ruins of the Manor House.
Lent by Messrs. Constable.

Since I wrote the above I have visited Abbotsford, Sir Walter Scott's beautiful home near Melrose, and I have seen there the inlaid chest from Modena about which a similar story is told in Rogers' *Italy*, pp. 96-100. Probably the mistletoe bough tradition is found in other countries besides England and Italy, and is attached to many ancient houses.

We are indebted to Messrs. Constable & Co., publishers of our President's charming work, *By Thames and Cotswold*, for the loan of two illustrations, and to Messrs. Parker, of Oxford, for that of the Crossing of the Church.

Mr. F. Were has kindly helped me with the heraldry.

SWINBROOK.

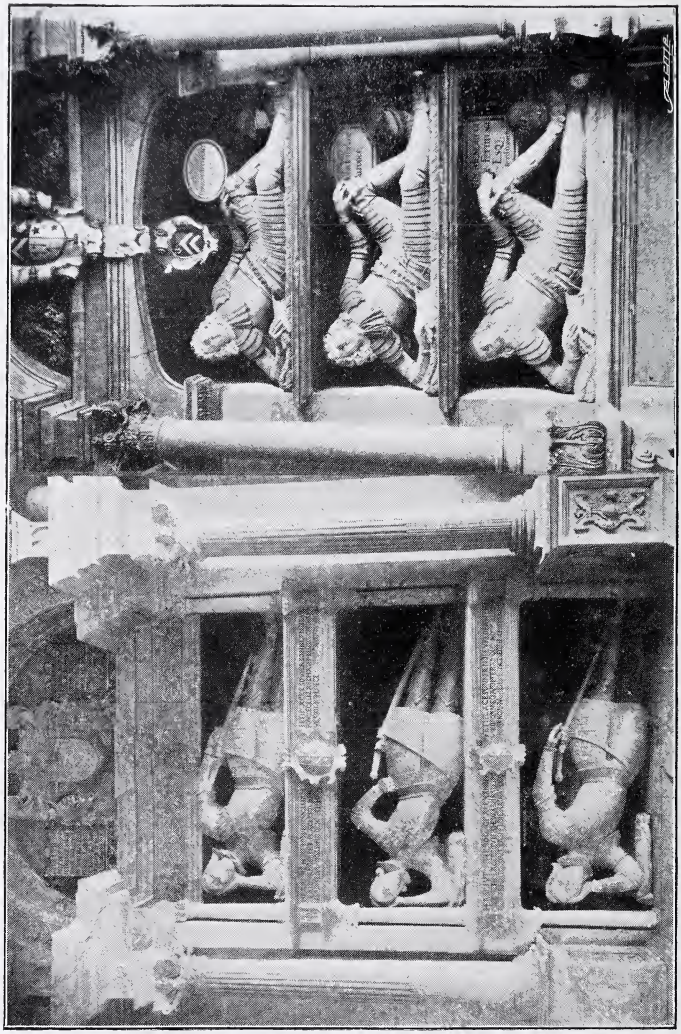
The Church of S. Mary, SWINBROOK, consists of a Chancel, Nave, North Aisle, and West Tower. The north doorway and Chancel are Early English, the north arcade of the Nave is Transitional Norman. The flat-headed windows of the north aisle, with their characteristic ball-flower ornament, and the clerestory are Decorated. The east window of the Chancel is Perpendicular. It has five lights, and contains some original stained glass with heraldic shields. On the S. Side of the Chancel are Perpendicular stalls with grotesque misereres.

The Tower at the W. end of the Church, built in 1822, is supported in an unusual manner by two side walls, N. and S., and rests on the W. wall of the Church. Some forty-five years ago a Rood Loft and Screen vanished under the restorer's hand.[1]

The principal interest of the Church lies in the Fettiplace monuments. The earliest a brass effigy of an esquire in a tabard, in front of the altar, on the floor, represents Anthony Fettiplace, who died in 1510. Almost the whole of the N. side of the Chancel is occupied by two monuments, each containing three shelves on which rest uneasily on their right elbows the effigies of six members of the Fettiplace family, lords of the manor of Swinbrook.

In Elizabethan or Jacobean armour, are Sir Anthony, d. 1504, William, d. 1562, and Sir Edmund, d. 1613. In the costume of the last quarter of the 17th century are Sir John, d. 1657, his nephew, Sir John, d. 1672, and Sir Edmund, d. 1706. An illustration of these monuments is given by *Skelton*, and also by W. J. Monk in *Walks and Drives around Burford*. A marble monument, with a bust commemorates the last Baronet, Sir George Fettiplace, who died s.p., 1743, aged 75. He left his estates to his sister's son, Thomas Bushell, who took the name of Fettiplace and died and was buried in this church in 1767. His eldest son Robert died in 1799, and was succeeded by a brother, Charles, who died in 1805 and was buried here. His nephew, Richard Gorges, died in 1806, leaving his estates to be divided between five sisters. I do not know whether the descendants of any of these ladies exist. If so, they will naturally be pained at reading an article in the *Church Family Newspaper* of June 21st, 1911, by Mr. A. C. Benson, in which he speaks disparagingly of the Fettiplaces, in my opinion unwarrantably. From the notices of their family in Skelton's *Oxfordshire*, and Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 496, I gather that the members were of "good account" both in Berks and Oxon, serving as sheriffs and taking part in their country's wars when it was demanded of them. He suggests that they were lacking in love and sympathy for their poorer

[1]An illustration of this Rood Loft, etc., is given in *Remains of Ecclesiastical Woodwork* by T. Talbot Bury, 1847.



Fettiplace Monuments in Swinbrook Church.

Lent by Mr. Parker.

brethren. The following extract from Skelton proves exactly the contrary: "The village and neighbourhood felt for many "years the benefit resulting from the family of the Fettiplaces "residing on their hereditary estates, for several charitable "foundations were by them endowed for the benefit of the "parishioners."

Then follows a list of Fettiplace charities: A free school, founded in 1716. A rental of £16 a year to apprentice poor children. Another of £10 a year for maternity cases. £13 a year for bread. Seven green coats a year for as many poor men, together with a quantity of linen. Moreover, in 1743, Sir George Fettiplace gave a large donation to Christ's Hospital, that he and his successors might for ever send two poor boys there from this parish. Each boy on leaving school was to have £15 as an apprentice fee.

It is manifestly unfair to the Fettiplaces, to our ancestors generally, and to charitable donors of the present day to suggest that love and sympathy for the poor are virtues "which have been developed of late out of pure terror at the rising forces of democracy."

The mansion of the Fettiplaces, said to have been built c. 1490, occupied a site on the S. of the Church, but has now almost disappeared. Its windows were full of heraldic glass, a description of which has been preserved in the Rawlinson MSS. Hugh Curwen, Bishop of Oxford, lived and died here. He was buried at the east end of the N. aisle in 1568. When the house was deserted by the Fettiplaces it was let to a Mr. Freeman, of London, who was arrested as the leader of a gang of highway robbers. After this it was allowed to go to rack and ruin.

WIDFORD.

The Parish of WIDFORD was formerly in Gloucestershire, but is now in Oxfordshire.

The Church of St. Oswald consists of a 13th century chancel and a nave of a rather earlier date. The east window of three lights is 14th century work. The north and south walls of the chancel contain three single-light 13th century windows.

The chancel arch is Early English. The 15th century bell-cote on the chancel gable contains a bell, dated 1777.

The font and north doorway of the nave are Norman in character.

Wall paintings have been uncovered within the last few years.

During the restoration in 1904, portions of a Roman pavement were found beneath the stone paving of the chancel, showing that the church stands on part of the site of a Roman villa. The living is a Rectory, and is annexed to Swinbrook.

The Rector tells me that the wall paintings contain portions of a St. Christopher, six kings (three alive and three dead), and some martyrs being slain with arrows.

BURFORD.

Burford Church.

Font in Burford Church.

The Church of S. John the Baptist, BURFORD, consists of a Chancel, with Vestry and two side Chapels, a Central Tower with north and south Transepts, a Nave with north and south Aisles and a South Porch with Chapels attached to its east and west sides.

The Perpendicular South Porch is richly ornamented with panelling, statues, and crocketted pinnacles. Above the graceful doorway, with its three orders of moulding and clustered shafts, are two rooms, now used for the custody of muniments; but no doubt formerly occupied by the priests who served the Church. Above the windows of the upper chamber is a frieze of eight angels bearing heraldic shields. The groined roof of the Porch is a good example of fan tracery.

The Nave, reconstructed in the 14th century, has two arcades, each of five bays, and a clerestory. Above every pier is a sculptured head.

The easternmost bay of the north arcade is occupied by a chapel with oak screen-work, said to be dedicated to S. Peter.

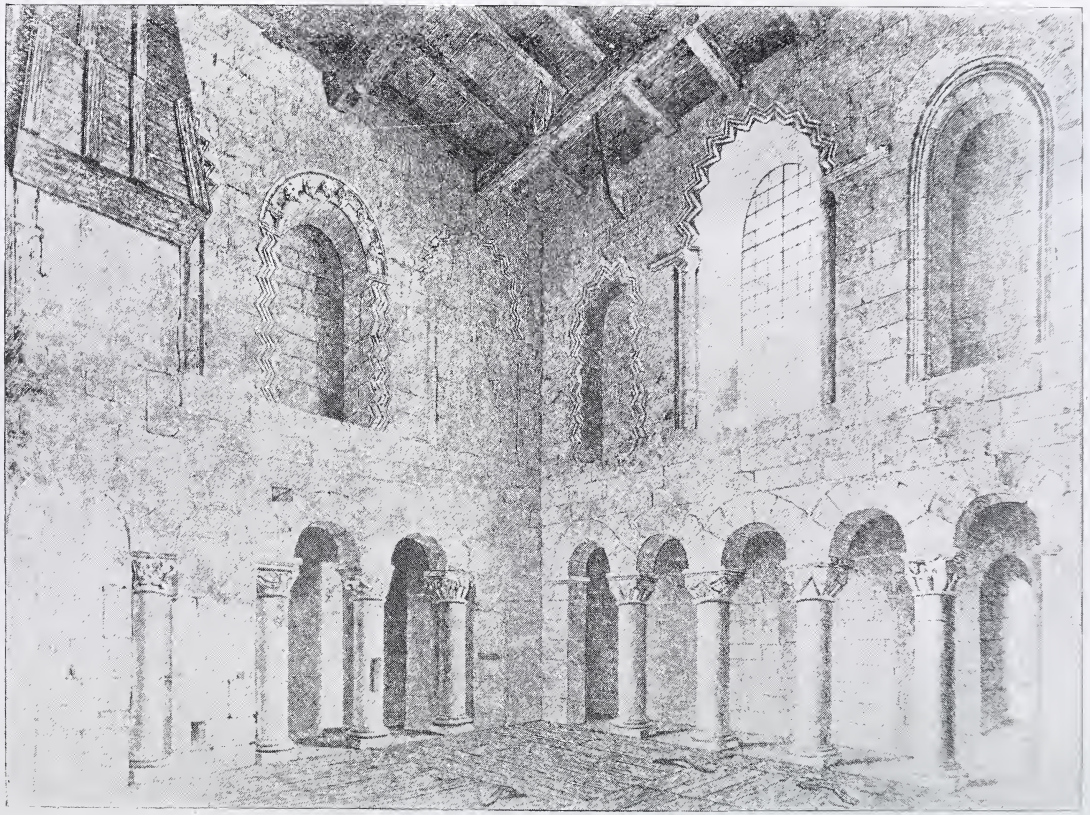
At the west end of the north aisle is a 14th century Font with figures of Saints and an inscription by a Commonwealth Prisoner.

The North Transept, known as Bell-founder's or Pinnock's Aisle, contains some Early English work which shows that the transept at one time extended farther north. Here are buried Speaker Lenthall, and various members of his family. The Norman Belfry and Lantern Tower are the oldest part of this grand church, and, as well as the exterior of the Porch, have been figured by Skelton. The lower part of the Chancel, the Sedilia, Piscina, and Credence are all Early English.

In the North Wall is an Aumbry or cupboard for the safe custody of the sacred vessels. On either side of the high altar is a mutilated pedestal, on which stood the figure of a Saint.

The priest's door had a holy water stoup.

The North Chancel Aisle, called the Tanfield Chapel, contains a Reliquary at the East End and a pretentious Jacobean Tomb to the memory of Lord Chief Justice Tanfield, who died in 1625. At the east end of the tomb is a figure of his grandson, Lord Falkland. The South Chancel Aisle contains three fine altar tombs and several monuments to the Bartholomew family. The South Transept, known as the Leggare Chapel, contains the fine Altar Tomb of John Leggare, its builder. Round the South Window of this Chapel, on the exterior, is the following inscription, "Orase *(sic)* pro animabus Patris et Matris Johannis Leggare De Borford per quem ista fenestra decoretur." There are also memorials in this chapel to Christopher Kempster, Clerk of the Works to Sir Christopher Wren during the building of S.

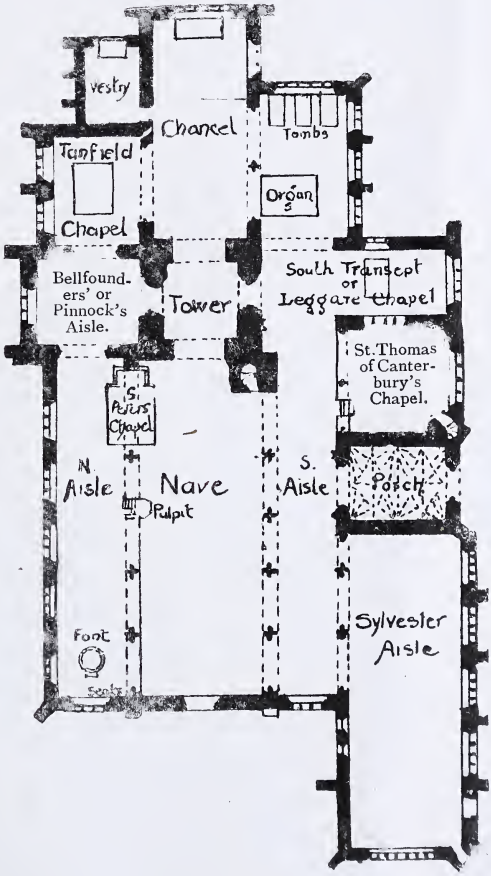


The Belfry, Burford Church.

From Skelton's *Oxfordshire.*

Paul's Cathedral, and to John Prior, who was murdered in the grounds of Burford Priory in 1697.

The next Chapel westwards, dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury, contains two Early English arches and a fine Perpendicular Window. It was formerly the Chantry Chapel of the local Guild of S. Thomas. A doorway and spiral staircase lead from this Chapel to the chambers above the Porch.



Plan of the Church of S. John the Baptist, Burford.
Lent by Mr. Packer.

To the west of the Porch is Sylvester's Aisle, with the fine altar tombs of the Sylvesters and Obaldestons. The Western end of this Chapel possibly formed the Lady Chapel of the original Norman Church. Two lancet windows may be seen on the south side.

Additional Notes by the Rev. W. Emeris, Vicar of Burford.

Since the visit of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society to Burford in 1897, the following work has been done in connection with the Church.

Windows by C. E. Kempe have been inserted at the west end of the south aisle, and in the north aisle, one of them being in memory of the Rev. W. A. Cass, Vicar of the parish for 35 years. The glass above the Harman monument was the gift of Mr. Kempe's firm in memory of the joint work of the Rev. W. A. Cass and Mr. C. E. Kempe for the adornment of the Church. The south window of the Leggare Chapel has been filled with glass by W. Whall, the fragments of old glass, which had been placed there, being moved to the north window of the north transept. The tracery of this same window has been filled with fragments of old English glass and a shield, with arms of S. Edward the Confessor. Old glass, but not originally in the Church, has been placed at the bottom of the window. On the east wall, of the Chancel the defaced niches on either side of the Altar have been restored, and figures of the Angel Gabriel, and the Blessed Virgin placed in them.

At the present time a Reredos is being erected against the east wall of the Lady Chapel, with open stone screen in the easternmost bay of the north arcade of the Chapel. The design of the Reredos has been suggested by the defaced Reredos in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral. The generous donors, who prefer to remain anonymous, will provide the altar and fittings of the Chapel, as well as re-laying the floor and fixing an inner door. The Architects for this work are Messrs. Hoare and Wheeler.

In the course of alterations to a house in Sheep Street, two stones were discovered in an inner wall, carved with birds' heads and beaks exactly like those to be seen over the west door of the Church. These may have been taken from the original Norman south door of the Church.

These stones, and a model of the Church, are now placed in the priest's room above the porch of the Church. W.C.E.

Burford Priory, a few years ago falling to hopeless ruin, was built by Lawrence Tanfield at the end of the 16th century, on the site of an Augustinian monastery. Here was born in 1610, Lucius Cary, afterwards the gifted Lord Falkland. Lord Falkland sold the Priory to William Lenthall, the famous Speaker of the Long Parliament, and he died here in 1662. In 1808 the Elizabethan mansion was much reduced in size, but it still retained much of its former beauty and magnificence. It was restored by Col. de Sales la Terrière in 1909, and is again inhabited. The Chapel, consecrated by Bishop Skinner of Oxford, in 1662, has been repaired, but it is not yet in use.

Burford Priory.

From Skelton's *Oxfordshire*

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Packer of Burford, for the use of the plate of the Fettiplace Monument, and the ground plan of Burford Church, which illustrate Mr. Monk's *History of Burford*, price 1/-. A great deal of interesting information relating to Burford and its neighbourhood will be found in *By Thames and Cotswold*.

FAIRFORD.

This town derives the latter part of its name from a ford over the Colne. Its position gave it an importance in Saxon times, and the discoveries of Mr. Wylie in 1852 prove that there was an important colony here soon after the conquest of Britain by our English forefathers. Many beautiful objects discovered in the Fairford graves—glass vases, fibulæ, drinking vessels, weapons of bronze and amber beads—may be seen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The earliest mention of the place is in a charter of Burghred, King of Mercia, A.D. 862, in which he made a grant of ten hides of land in Fairford to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester.

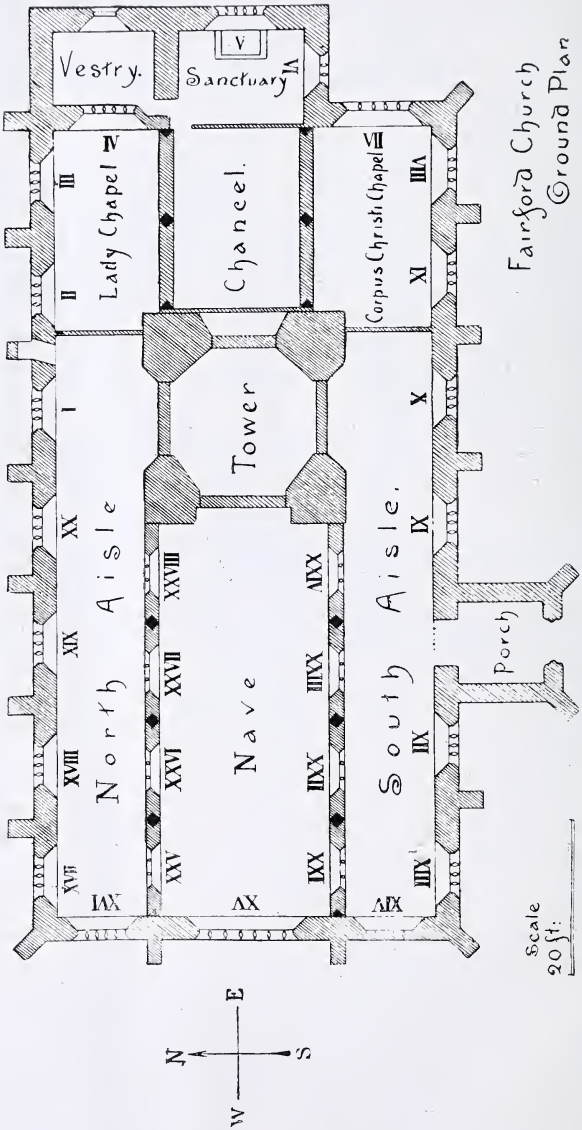
In the days of the Confessor, Fairford formed one of the many manors of Brictric Fitz Algar. The story of Queen Matilda's early love for him and her subsequent hatred because he refused her has been too often told to need re-telling; but, in fairness to the queen, let us remember that E. A. Freeman, one of our best historians, throws discredit on the whole tradition. Brictric suffered only as well-nigh every other Saxon landowner suffered the loss of all his heritage to enrich his rapacious conquerors. Fairford, as part of the honour of Gloucester, shared the fortunes of Tewkesbury, passing from Robert fitz Hamon to the de Clares, the Despencers, the Beauchamps, and the Nevilles, till it came into the hands of Henry VII. He granted it to John Tame, a London Merchant, and in his time and his son's, Sir Edmund, it flourished as it had never done before. John Tame found here a noble 14th century church built on the site of one far more ancient, and he levelled it almost to the ground that he might construct a sacred picture gallery, where the highest mysteries of the Christian faith might be set forth (much as they are in the Ober Ammergau Passion Play), by representations of our Lord's life on earth, and future judgment, by scenes from the Old Testament symbolical of the Gospel History, and by the likenesses of holy men who, before and since the coming of the Saviour, have written or contended for the faith. In the Aisles and Clerestory we find figure and canopy work, and the scheme of the windows is so arranged, that each light exhibits a figure which has a companion facing it on the opposite side of the Church. Thus we have in the North Aisle the Prophets, each bearing over his head a prophesy which refers to the article of the faith displayed by the Apostle opposite to him in the South

Aisle. To the west of these are the four Evangelists on the north (the *Historians* of the Faith) facing the four Latin Fathers (*Defenders* of the Faith), and in the Clerestory, 12 *Persecutors* of the Faith with demons over them; in the tracery lights, are facing 12 martyrs and confessors with angels over them. There is sound evidence to show that each of these figures had its special companion as a *vis-a-vis*, but the order has been deranged, and it was found impossible to replace the 24 lights in their original positions—more especially as only nine of the figures can be identified. It is this marvellous series of painted windows that makes Fairford so attractive to those interested in mediaeval art; but apart from these, the church has many interesting features; and churchmen of to-day may well revere the spot where Keble was born and spent his early years. His parents' tombs are in the churchyard. His own noblest monument, *The Christian Year*, may have derived its first inspiration from the windows with which he was so familiar.

The plan of St. Mary's Church comprises a nave with clerestory, and two aisles, a central tower, chancel and vestry. It will be seen on examining the walls and buttresses of the chancel that they rest on the plinths of an earlier church. There are, moreover, remains of early 14th century work, with the characteristic ball-flower, embedded in the two western piers of the tower. John Tame, when he removed the transepts, allowed the lower tier of the tower to remain. The spring of the old arcades embedded in masonry of tower piers prove this.

The south porch has a flat arch of three members, with quartrefoils and trefoils in the spandrels and a square hood terminating in the figures of angels. Above the arch is a niche with font-like pedestal on which once stood a statue of our Lady. There is a sameness about the windows such as we might expect in a church built all at one date. The embattled parapets are rich with gurgoyles, and the tower is covered with heraldic arms and devices, amongst which will be noticed the Despencer fret, the chevron on a ground chequy, for Guy, Earl of Warwick; the lion and dragon of the Tames, and such well-known cognisances as the chained bear and ragged staff of the Earls of Warwick, and the Yorkist fetterlock.

The general style of the church may be compared with such contemporary buildings as Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral, and Bath Abbey—some of our latest examples of Gothic architecture. It was stated by Dr. Parsons, Chancellor of Oxford, at the close of the 17th century, that John Tame built the church as a receptacle for some Flemish glass which he had previously obtained. Many treatises have been written to prove or disprove the assertion, said to have been made by Vandyck to Charles I., that Albert Dürer had designed the paintings.



Ground Plan of Church.

Lent by Canon Carbonell.

Mr. Joyce, in his superb monograph on the windows, came to the conclusion—for reasons which will no doubt be given us on the spot—that the windows were made for the church, and he is decidedly opposed to the Dürer theory. We shall be under the guidance of one who knows the windows better than anyone else now living, and who, moreover, has written an excellent guide for visitors. The briefest summary will be therefore sufficient for this programme. The glass fills 28 windows, and may be divided into three principal groups: I. The Gospel History, in eight windows within the chancel-screen, introduced by four typical studies from Old Testament History in a window just outside; II. The History of the Faith, in sixteen windows of the nave, aisles, and clerestory; III. The Last Judgment, in the three windows at the west end. The order of the history is somewhat disturbed by the insertion of the Assumption of the Virgin over the altar of our Lady in the chapel at the east end of the north aisle, and by the insertion of the Transfiguration over the altar of the Corpus Christi Chapel, formerly used for the reservation of the Holy Sacrament, on the west side.

Let us then commence with the window in the north aisle just outside the screen.

1. Four Old Testament Symbols, *i.e.*, The Fall, Moses at the burning bush, Gideon and the Fleece, and the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon.

The history of our Lord's mother in the three windows of the Lady Chapel:

2. Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, the Birth of the Virgin, the self-dedication of St. Mary and her Espousal to Joseph.
3. The Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple.
4. The Assumption of St. Mary, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Infants, Christ in the Temple with the Doctors.
5. East Window. The Passion and Death of our Lord.
6. The Descent from the cross, the Entombment, Christ in Hades.
7. The Transfiguration. The Appearances of our Lord to Mary Magdalene and the other women.
8. The Supper at Emmaus. The Appearance of our Lord to St. Thomas.
9. The Appearance of Christ at the Sea of Tiberias. The Ascension. The Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost.

The twelve Apostles reciting the Creed:

10. St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James, St. John.
11. St. Thomas, St. James the Less, St. Philip, St. Bartholemew.
12. St. Matthew, St. Simon, St. Thaddaeus, St. Matthias.

The Fathers of the Church :

13. St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine.
14. The Judgment of David.
15. The Last Judgment.
16. The Judgment of Solomon.
17. The four Evangelists : St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.

Twelve of the Prophets, adducing forecasts of the Creed from their own writings :

18. Obadiah, Daniel, Malachi, Micah.
19. Joel, Zephaniah, Amos, Hosea.
20. Zechariah, Isaiah, David, Jeremiah.

In the windows of the Clerestory, south side, beginning from the west :

21. A Pope between two Cardinals.
22. An Emperor between two Kings.
23. Fragments, St. Margaret, a Bishop.
24. St. Dorothy, St. Sebastian, St. Agnes.

On the north side of Clerestory, beginning at the west :

25. Annas, Judas Iscariot, Caiaphas.
26. A King, an Emperor, Herod the Great.
27. Herod Antipas, a figure in armour.
28. An Archer, Two armed figures.

In the Lady Chapel is a good brass with the effigies of Sir Edmund Tame and dame Alice, his wife. Between the Chancel and the Lady Chapel is the altar tomb of the founder of the church and donor of the glass, John Tame, and his wife, Alice, with their effigies. The altar tomb of Roger Ligon and his wife is also in the chancel. The monument of Sir William Oldisworth, who died in 1689, reminds us of the debt of gratitude which according to Bigland we owe this worthy knight, for taking out and concealing the glass when the Puritian soldiers were marching upon Fairford and would have destroyed it. Of course, when it was replaced after the Restoration of Charles II., some mistakes were made and many pieces were lost, but when the glass was releaded a few years ago the present Vicar, with much ability and untiring zeal, replaced, sought out, and restored to their proper places all the pieces which had been wrongly placed.

Authorities on the Fairford Glass : *The Fairford Windows ; A Monograph ;* by the Rev. J. G. Joyce ; published by the Arundel Society, 1872. *A Handbook to Fairford Church and its Windows*, by the Rev. F. R. Carbonell, 1893 ; price 6d. *Remarks on the Fairford Windows*, by the Rev. J. G. Joyce ; *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, Vol. II., pp. 53-91.

See also papers on the Dürer controversy by Messrs. Russell, Waller, Holt, Planché, a list of which is given in *The Manual of Gloucestershire Bibliography*, by F. A. Hyett and W. Bazeley.

OXFORD.

BALLIOL COLLEGE.

This College was founded *c.* 1263 by John de Balliol, father of John Balliol, King of Scotland, and by Devorgilla, his wife, daughter of Alan of Galloway. The college, thus established, grew, as time went on, through additional benefactions. The Statutes were finally settled in 1504. The south or principal front was built in 1867-9. West of this is the Master's lodging, and beyond are Fisher's buildings, erected in 1769, and refaced in 1876. Part of the west front, opposite S. Mary Magdalene Church, was built in 1825, and the part nearest the Martyrs' Memorial in 1852-3.

Entering the front quadrangle, we have on the north side the Library (1430-80); on the east, the chapel (1856-7); and on the west, the old dining hall (1432).

A passage leads to the garden, on the north side of which is the new dining hall (1877) with butteries, etc., below.

Amongst the many notable men who have studied at Balliol, we may mention John Wycliffe, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, John Evelyn, Bradley the astronomer, Adam Smith, and more recently, Archbishop Manning and Archbishop Temple.

A Balliol scholarship has for many years been considered the blue ribbon of the University and not infrequently has been won by my own school, Cheltenham College.

EXETER COLLEGE.

This College was founded by Walter de Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter (1308-26), and subsequently endowed by Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter (1395-1419), and Sir William Petre, 1566.

The west front was rebuilt in 1595 and 1703, and refaced in 1833. The quadrangle has the hall on the south, the chapel on the north, and students' rooms on the east and west. The chapel, which is the finest in Oxford, was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, who took Sainte Chapelle, Paris, as his model. The hall was built in 1618, by Sir John Acland, and restored in 1818. Exeter has always been considered a west country college, and a large proportion of its more celebrated *alumni* have been Devonshire and Cornish men.

At the north-east corner of the quadrangle is the old entrance gateway (1404), now forming part of the Rector's house, built in 1857, on the east side of the new quadrangle. The Library was rebuilt in 1856. John de Trevisa, Chaplain of Berkeley Castle, and Samuel Wesley, were connected with this college.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

This building was originally the basement of Duke Humphrey's Library. When completed in 1480, its windows were filled with magnificent stained glass, exhibiting the figures of saints. During the reign of Edward VI. it was pillaged, and terribly damaged. In 1625, the Commons met here when driven from London by the plague. In 1669, it was restored under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren. The groined roof is rich in heraldry, and nearly 100 shields can still be deciphered. A frequent bearing—The See of Canterbury impaling *gules, three wheatsheafs or, within a bordure engrailed argent* shows John Kempe to have been the principal contributor to the building fund. He was successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury (1452-4). He was, moreover, Lord High Chancellor of England. He also built the ante-chapel of Merton and part of the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East. There are also the arms of William of Waynflete, who at this time was directing the building at Eton and Windsor, Archbishops Chichele and Nevill, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, Sir Richard Wydvylle, and many other patrons.

WADHAM COLLEGE.

This College was founded by Nicholas Wadham and his wife, Dorothy, on the site of the monastery of the Austin friars, 1610-13. Passing through the central gateway of the fine west front we enter a quadrangle, having on the east side the chapel, hall, library, and kitchen, the remaining sides being occupied by rooms for the warden, fellows and students. The chapel contains stained glass, made by Bernard Van Linge in 1621. The screen and the rest of the woodwork are Jacobean. Over the steps leading to the hall are the figures of James I. and the founders.

Amongst the many portraits in the hall are those of Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Ironside, Bishop of Hereford (1691-1701), William III., etc.

The Library contains portfolio editions of Shakespeare and a rare Saxon MS. of the 10th century, and the Common Room a portrait of Mother George painted by Sonmars in 1690, when she was 117 years old.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

This college owes its foundation to William of Durham, who is said to have died at Rouen in 1249. No part of the present building, however, is older than 1634. There are two quadrangles. Over the gateway leading to the greater is a statue of Queen Anne, and, inside, one of James II. The east side of the lesser quadrangle is occupied by the Master's lodging, built in

1719, from a bequest by Dr. Radcliffe, whose statue may be seen inside the archway. Outside is Queen Mary, consort of William III.

The chapel, restored in 1862, contains carvings by R. Barker, 1695. The north and south windows are by Van Linge, 1641. The east window, given by Dr. Radcliffe, was painted in 1687 by H. Giles.

The Hall contains portraits of Archbishops Abbot, Bancroft, and Potter, Dr. Radcliffe, Lord Chancellor Eldon, etc.

Perhaps the striking memorial of the poet Shelley, once a student of this college, will interest many of our members most of all.

ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY CHURCH.

The most striking features of this beautiful church are the spire with its pinnacles, c. 1300, restored 1850; the panels and gables are enriched with a profusion of pomegranates in honour of Queen Eleanour of Castile.

The tower arches form an inner porch, on the west side of which is Adam de Brom's chapel. The chancel bears the rebus of Walter le Harte, who died in 1472. It was completed about 1484. In the beginning of the reign of Henry VII., the rest of the church was rebuilt, the architect being Sir Reginald Bray. On the north side of the chancel is a chapel formerly used as the University Library before Duke Humphrey built the nucleus of Bodlein's.

I am indebted to *A Hand-book for Visitors to Oxford*, published by James Parker & Co., 1875, for much of the scanty information I have ventured to give about these Oxford colleges and S. Mary's church.

WILLIAM BAZELEY,
President of Council.

WILLIAM GEORGE'S SONS